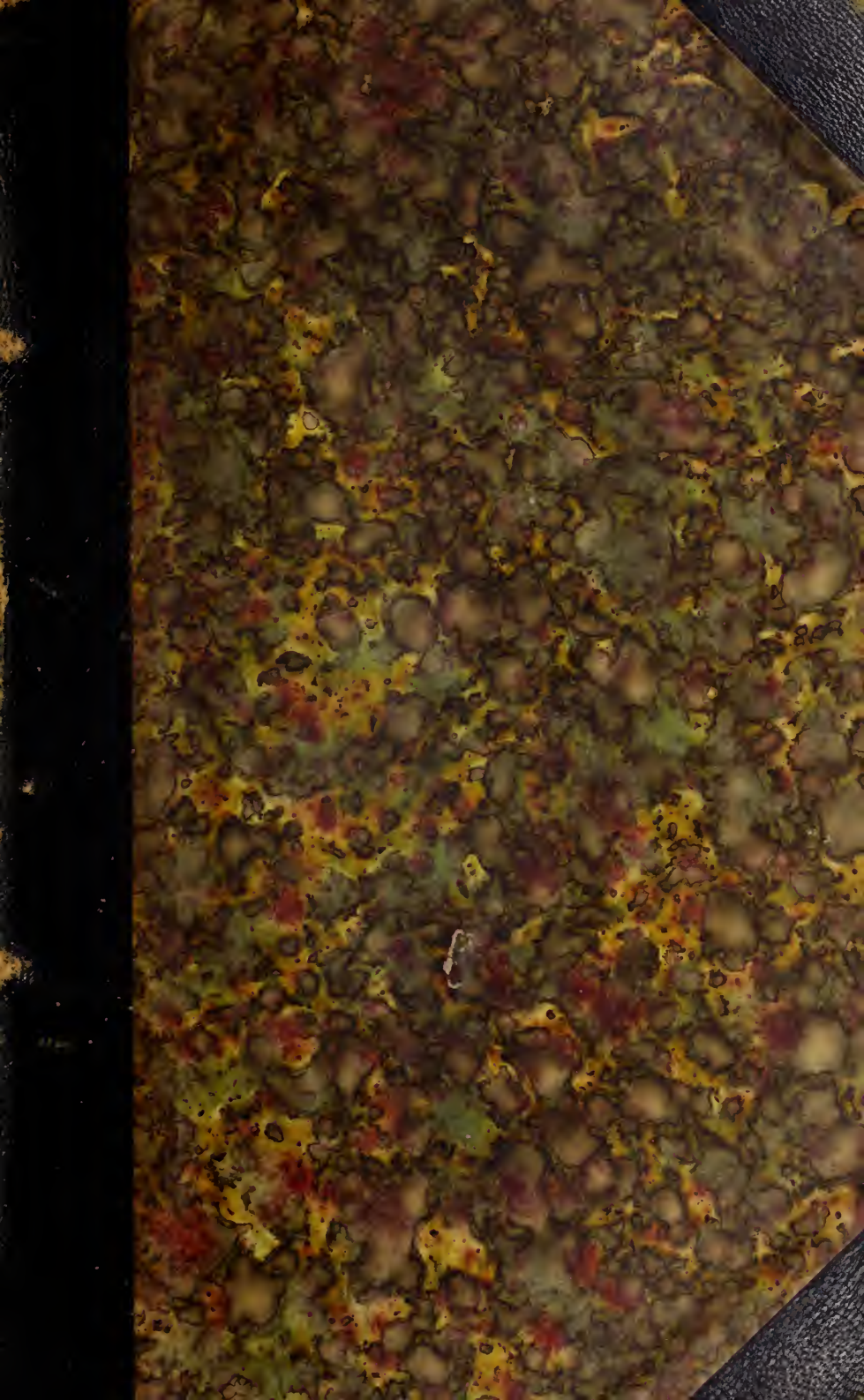
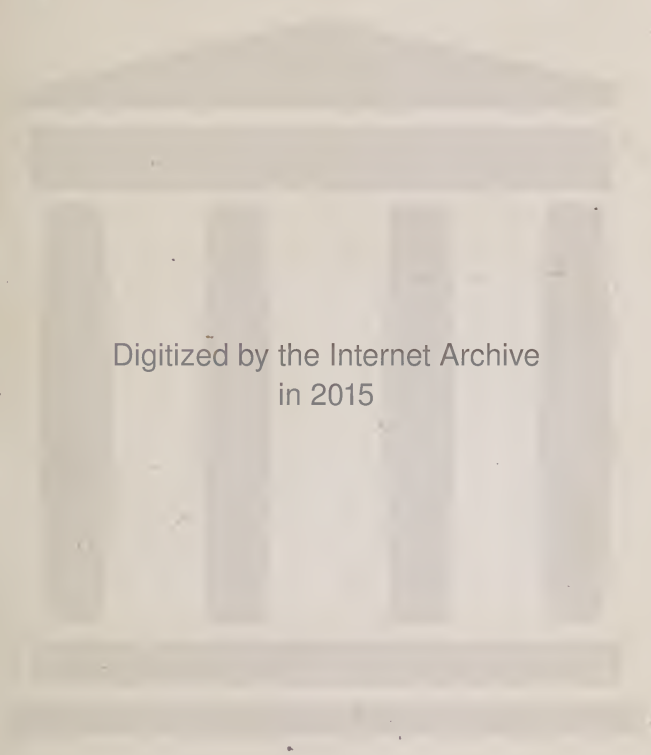




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THE AFRICAN REPOSITORY.

VOL. XXX.]

WASHINGTON, MARCH, 1854.

[No. 3.

Death of Elliott Cresson, Esq.

WE are pained to record the death of Elliott Cresson, Esq., at his mother's residence, in this city early yesterday morning, after a brief illness.

Mr. Cresson was born in Philadelphia, March 14, 1794, and was, consequently, in the sixtieth year of his age at the time of his death. The whole of his manhood has been a scene of activity, and devotion to public interests, and the general welfare of mankind. For a short time he was engaged in mercantile pursuits, but left them, and dedicated himself to the civilization and christianization of Africa, by the agency of her own sons from this land. In the prosecution of this mission, he on several occasions visited, with great success, various portions of the United States, and in 1832 made a voyage to Great Britain, laboring there, as at home, without fee or reward. At the organization of the Philadelphia School of Design, under an act of incorporation, he was elected its President; and it is worthy of remark that in addition to many successful efforts in its behalf, his last public act was to attend a meeting of its Board of Directors, on last Tuesday evening.

Mr. Cresson was never married. He leaves a widowed mother and two sisters and one brother. Possessed of a handsome competency, he was a liberal distributor of the means with which a bountiful Providence had blessed him. We have reason to believe, that by his will, drawn a few months since, his entire possessions are set apart in individual and associated charities of the city of his birth.

As a friend, he was true; as a citizen, spirited and devoted; as a philanthropist, disinterested and generous. In all the relations of life, zeal, ability and intelligence characterized his efforts and services. —*North American, February 21.*

We learn from the newspapers that the bequests of Mr. Cresson amount to \$127,000; among which are \$1,000 to the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, and \$10,000 to Episcopal missions and schools at Port Cresson in Liberia. Mr. Cresson was a Vice President and Life Director of the American Colonization Society; and for many years, he was a zealous advocate of the claims of Africa, and an earnest defender of this Society against the attacks of its opponents. Other institutions of benevolence also received much of his time and attention; and several of them have shared liberally in the bequests made in his will.

Letter from R. E. Murray. (via England.)

GREENVILLE.

Oct. 11, 1853.

MY DEAR SIR:—I embrace this opportunity of writing you a few

lines. I have every reason to believe that it will allay your anxiety respecting the emigrants by the Adeline. When we received intelli-

gence of the death of Dr. Brown, I felt forcibly the trying situation in which the event placed me; but the resolution was soon formed of doing all in my power for the emigrants. The first thing was to procure good nurses, who would report sickness as soon as possible; the next was to consult Dr. Brown's directions and Dr. Lugenbeel's Sketches; the last to consult my own experience, and to hold myself in readiness to go at every call. This being done, the Divine blessing was invoked in my behalf. When the fever made its appearance, the greatest activity was required. This, in connection with other duties, kept me quite busy. You may judge with what success, when I assure you that only two have died, one female and a

child. The others are all doing well. I feel well assured that this company will do well if they continue to be governed by my advice, and do not expose themselves unnecessarily. The company by the Zebra will soon end their six months. We have lost but six of them.

Amidst all my difficulties, it is truly pleasing to say that I have the confidence and kind feelings of the company. You may depend on my doing all in my power for the emigrants. As it is, much will depend on their prudence. The mill is at work again, and I hope the business will prosper.

Yours truly,

R. E. MURRAY.

Rev. W. McLain.

[From the Christian Advocate and Journal.]

Africa and the Africans.

BY REV. W. G. STONEX.

THE land of Africa has long been, and still continues to be, for the most part, unknown. The eye of the bold adventurer has often been turned toward it, and his desires have gone thither, anxiously ruminating upon its dangers and its beauties, as far as these have been made known to him. Many a sigh has he heaved when the thought has arisen of the immense barriers which Providence has reared around it, seemingly to hide it from the inquisitive eyes of other people than her own. The popular impression in regard to Africa is, that it is a land of deformities and desolations—a land where naught else is seen but boundless dreary wastes: nor need we wonder in the least that such is the impression.

Who can read of broad and trackless deserts, beset with perils; of pestilential vapors which, like

the Upas, breathe death to all with whom they come in contact; of formidable animals which incessantly prowl around the hamlet of the native, and the pathway of the traveler, seeking with their blood, to satisfy their horrid appetites; of the insect tribes which, in their migrations, darken the very air, and which, descending on the herbage and ripening grain, destroy in a short time the prospects of life; or which, descending upon man or beast, goad them, by their venomous sting to madness? Who can read of this without, in their minds, associating with Africa images of darkness and death? And we are not at all surprised to find those who believe it to be a doomed land, so marred by its many evils as to possess no attraction, or awaken no interest whatever.

But as in the order of Providence

light is found in proximity with darkness, and physical good with external evil, so are beauties and blessings found in connexion with the gloom and desolateness of Africa. Skirting the very deserts over which sweeps the terrific simoon, are found the verdant oases—spots so brilliant in appearance, and so luxuriant, and rendered so fascinating by the gushing of the refreshing springs, and the melodious songs of a thousand feathered warblers, as to strangely impress the eye, the ear, and the heart. The untutored inhabitant, as he looks and listens, believes that here linger the gods and goddesses, and here dwell the spirits of the dead, and that here they will dwell forever.—The association seems to be nothing more than natural.

From explorations latterly made we learn that, in the interior of the continent, there are found vast rivers which flow, for many miles, through immense regions of extraordinary fertility and magnificence, abounding with vast impenetrable forests, whose timber is, for available purposes, invaluable. The enthusiastic adventurer—Mungo Park, said, of what he saw: "It was not possible for me to behold the wonderful fertility of the soil, the vast herds of cattle proper both for labor and food, and a variety of other circumstances favorable to colonization and agriculture, and reflect, withal, on the means which presented themselves of a vast inland navigation, without lamenting that a country so gifted and favored by nature should remain in its present savage and neglected state."

It is affirmed that "all tourists and journalists who have explored the continent of Africa, while they find barren spots, picture also wide-

ly extended regions of the most exuberant and astonishing fertility—an exuberance affording so rich and spontaneous a profusion of productions that the ungoverned natives have not the necessary excitement to exertion."

It is strange that no more is known of Africa than is. It has always been extensively veiled in obscurity. Egypt, with her people, her pyramids, her arts and sciences; and Arabia with her religion, her warriors, and her literature, have always been familiar to the learned world; yet the many centuries which have passed away, making us familiar with the land of the Pharaohs, and of the children of the East, have failed to dissipate the darkness which has enveloped the interior of Africa. It is a noble purpose which stimulates the explorer to traverse oceans and continents to bring to light the hitherto undiscovered.—High and noble aspirations burn within him. The popular impression that his love of adventure, and desire to gratify the eye have influenced and suspended the judgment, is as ungenerous as it is untrue.—Great purposes and plans are matured and laid by him, and he is moved in his undertakings by deep and abiding convictions. The errand on which he goes is extensively an errand of mercy. He goes to make known to the world that which exists within it—to make the world familiar with itself. He goes as the representative of enlightened humanity, bearing with himself a high and noble civilization.

The names of Ledyard, Bruce, Park, Denham, and others, will ever be regarded as worthy of remembrance for what they made known concerning Africa. And those who are yet to complete the labour com-

menced by them will confer a favour upon the world which will never be forgotten; and Africa herself will eventually learn how much she is their debtor, and will regard their memories, and pronounce their names, with the most cherished affection.

The ancients, in the exuberance of their imaginations, and in their ignorance, were accustomed to regard the unknown portion of that land as either being uninhabited, or peopled with monsters of hideous appearance. There, they surmised, roamed the satyr, with cloven foot and horned head; and there were found diminutive human beings who fought fierce battles with cranes; and there roamed, to and fro, beings of terror in human form; but without heads; and there existed the horrid beast half man and half horse.

It would have been singular intelligence, indeed, to the citizens of Rome and Carthage to have assured them that that region was neither devoid of inhabitants nor peopled with these monsters, but with human beings who in complexion only differed from themselves.

And though at this day the error of the ancients is not the error of the multitude, yet the inhabitants of that land are extensively identified with all that is ignorant, all that is superstitious, and all that is base.—Not a few have been accustomed to regard them as a species of the brute, thus depriving them of the character of human beings; an opinion which speaks neither for the wisdom nor humanity of those who entertain it. Degraded and vile as they may be, they are not thus to be esteemed. Under that dark surface there beats a human heart, and there exists human sen-

sibilities, with a human soul. They are not at all strangers to those feelings of affection, of sympathy, of joy, and of sorrow, which stir within our own breasts; wherever there are found those who possess them not, they are exceptions to the general character.

There is much truth in the statement that Africa is not at this day the abode of barbarism; at least it is not exclusively such. While it is true that certain tribes are both mentally and physically degraded, it is fully ascertained that there are others where civilization prevails in no ordinary degree.

The Kaffirs, the Bushmen, the Hottentots, together with others, have sunk almost as low as human beings may be presumed capable of sinking; but, on the other hand, there are found tribes and nations who are possessed of written language and learned men. The science of agriculture is understood by them; and not only villages, but also cities have been discovered, containing from thirty thousand to a million of inhabitants; nor should we be in the least surprised to learn, eventually, that if the magnificence of Roman or Grecian architecture is not equalled, that yet noble and stately edifices and mansions exist, and with them the refinements of society.

When the light of discovery shall have chased away the existing obscurity which rests upon that continent, many unexpected and astonishing disclosures will undoubtedly be made; nor should we wonder if the day is near at hand when the same interest will be awakened in its behalf that has been in behalf of the buried cities of Europe, and now is in behalf of the opening wonders of Assyria. Who can tell

but that the immense literary wealth of the Arabians, which has excited universal admiration, but which, among them, exists no longer, may be transferred to the now unknown portion of that land; and that the spirit and energy of their ancient wise men may also be there in vigorous existence? The fact that Africans have been found who were conversant with the Arabic gives color to this supposition. The confirmation of this is, however, dependent upon the future.

It has been the lot of Africa to endure more than an ordinary amount of evil. We may speak of it as a land of sighs and of tears.—Many years have passed away since the first wail of her captive sons and daughters were borne along by the gentle breeze, or the tumultuous whirlwind—a wail of touching, harrowing despair; and as time has moved onward her sorrows have been multiplied, and other and more numerous notes of woe have been heard piercing the air. Her mountains and valleys are familiar with their mournings, and the very sands of her desert have been moistened with their tears.

To us the name of Africa breathes a plaintive, melancholy sound.—Who is there that is not familiar with the story of her wrongs—the system of kidnapping and plunder so successfully carried on by the nations of Europe—a system which has brutally torn from her a hundred thousand of her children every year? And when it is remembered that not less than half this immense number annually perish from their own deep mental sufferings, and the cruelties they experience, who is there that does not shudder at the loathsome degradation and corruption of those who are the authors and guilty abettors

of the system? Since the slave trade has been in existence Africa has been robbed of no less than twenty millions of her inhabitants.

As to the way in which these unhappy beings are obtained we are informed that at Bornou, where this is the principal traffic, when the Moorish merchants arrive, and offer their merchandise for slaves, if there are none on hand, the sultan immediately collects his forces, marches into the country of some harmless tribe, burns their villages, destroys their fields and flocks, massacres the infirm and old, and returns with as many able bodied prisoners as he can seize. It is not uncommon for several thousands to be obtained in such sallies.

“Imagine,” says a writer from Africa, “a peaceful little hamlet, the inhabitants of which are just retiring to rest as the shades of evening gather around them; but all at once they are aroused by the sound of muskets firing, and the smoke of powder is blowing about them.—They know the awful alarm, but what can they do? They are unable to defend themselves; all is consternation; and while the alarm is pervading, they behold their huts in flames. Those who can, immediately fly to the bush: the mother hurries her children, the father hastens for his own safety; but a great many of them fall into the hands of the enemy. Hands are laid especially on the young and healthy, who are hurried away in horrible secrecy, to become the victims of cruelty.”

We are told that in some portions of Africa, slaves are hunted for as they hunt for wild beasts.

Montgomery has said:—

“Forth sprung the ambush’d ruffians on their prey—

They caught, they bound, they drove them far away.

The white man bought them at the mart
of blood ;

In pestilential barks they cross'd the flood.
Then were the wretched ones asunder
torn,

To distant isles, to separate bondage
borne ;

Denied, though sought with tears, the sad
relief

That misery loves—the fellowship of
grief.”

Dr. Oudney remarks, that “the horrid consequences of the slave trade were strongly brought to our mind ; and although its horrors are not equal to the European trade, still they are sufficient to call up every sympathy, and rouse every spark of humanity. They are dragged over deserts ; water often fails, and also provisions scantily provided for the long and dreary journey.”

Denham, in his account, referring to a well at which he and his companions had arrived, says : “The ground around it was strewed with human skeletons of the slaves who had arrived, exhausted with thirst and fatigue. During the last two days, it was said, they passed on an average from sixty to eighty or ninety human skeletons each day ; but the numbers that lay about the wells of El Hammar were countless. “Those of two young women,” continues the account, “were particularly shocking. Their arms still remained clasped round each other as they had expired although the flesh had long since perished by being exposed to the rays of the burning sun, and the blackened bones only left.”

Horrible as is this, those recitals that make us acquainted with the treatment undergone by the unfortunate Africans who are transported to the foreign market is more horrible still. On board the most capa-

cious slave-ship a full-grown person is allowed a space of only sixteen inches in width, three feet three inches in height, and five feet eight inches in length. Their only bed is the bare planks, on which they are crowded in the most painful manner. The motion of the ship as it rolls upon the sea, so chafes them as not only to produce sores and bruises, but to lay the bones almost bare. Crowded in a space so limited, the air they breathe soon becomes poison, and, in connexion with the extreme heat, acts as a constant pestilence. In consequence of their sufferings, brought on from this cause and others, it is a common occurrence to find on each successive morning that during the night some one at least has died.—It is affirmed that out of the one hundred thousand who have been annually conveyed away, that no less than one third perish on the passage. Nor is this all, when pursued, in order to avoid detection, instances are known in which the entire cargo of manacled victims have been inhumanly thrown overboard. Thus then, the air of the ocean as well as of the land, has borne along their piercing and heart-rending cries.

If all these enormities were exclusively connected with the past, we should look upon them simply as a melancholy picture of what had been, and feel relief in the thought that such barbarities were inflicted no longer. But let us not forget that the same scenes are witnessed, the same horrors are inflicted, and the same harrowing shrieks are heard at the present time. The slave-ships still breast the waves with their manacles and dungeons.

The system itself was extensively deprived of its legal sanction soon after the commencement of the present century. But in 1824 it

was ascertained that that year there were not less than two hundred and eighteen vessels employed in the traffic, and that at least one hundred and twenty thousand slaves were exported from their coasts.

In 1836 it was said the cruelties of the slave trade were at that time as great, and probably greater, than they had been at any former period; and at this very time not less than twenty thousand are annually imported into the island of Cuba alone; and when we add to this the trade at other points, we shall not fail to perceive that the iniquitous system is well nigh as flourishing as it has heretofore been.

It is true that the traffic is forbidden, and the cruisers of different nations are on the alert, seeking to completely break it up; but their vigilance is eluded, and in some instances the very governments connive at the system which, upon their statute-books, is prohibited.

A dark gloom still rests upon Africa, and the tears of her children yet continue copiously to flow.

"O Africa! what has been thy crime,

That thus, like Eden's fratricide,
A mark is set upon thy clime,
And every brother shuns thy side?
Yet are thy wrongs, thou long distress'd,
Thy burden by the world unweigh'd,
Safe in that *unforgelful breast*,
Where all the sins of earth are laid."

In filling up the cup of her deep wretchedness all Europe has been concerned. Scarcely is there a nation to be found but what has, either directly or indirectly, contributed to augment her sufferings. Portugal was the first European nation that trafficked in African slaves; and the Portuguese are supposed to have acquired the habit from the Mohammedans, who had long before been involved in it. Other nations, finding Portugal realizing no small gain therefrom, entered earnestly into it; and before many years had elapsed, the blood of the African race was appealing to God against them all. England, at a subsequent period, made vigorous efforts to monopolize the traffic, but in this she did not succeed; her greedy desire exceeded her ability.

Address of J. H. B. Latrobe, Esq., President of the Am. Col. Society,
AT THE ANNIVERSARY, JANUARY 17, 1854.

Gentlemen of the American Colonization Society.—

The only duty that our constitution, in terms, imposes upon the President, is to preside at the annual meetings. I am here to-night for that purpose. Twenty-eight years ago, I came to Washington, to urge upon the Society the importance of multiplying settlements in Africa. Three years since, I again appeared as a speaker at the annual meeting. I addressed the same individual who had presided a quarter of a century before. Mr. Clay still occupied the chair. It was the last time he filled it. When the anniversary returned, he was stretched on the bed from whence he rose no more, and his great fellow-statesman,

Mr. Webster, took his place on the occasion. Another year, and both were in the grave; and General Mercer, their cotemporary and friend, identified with the Society from its organization, officiated as chairman. At that meeting the honor was conferred upon me, that makes my presence here to-night a duty. The active labors of thirty years for Africa, and for this cause, were then compensated tenfold. Prevented by the circumstances of my professional life from indulging in political aspirations, you nevertheless gave me a position, more elevated than any within the scope of my longings, or within the reach of my opportunities. I would be doing injustice to my own feelings,

therefore, did I not, on this, the first appropriate occasion, say emphatically, in the hope that in the brief words, you will recognise an abiding sense of a distinction conferred,—*I thank you.*

And, gentlemen, who is there that you could place here, who should not say the same? What cause is there now before the Christian world more honorable or more dignified than African Colonization. Year after year it has grown in stature and in comeliness. From small beginnings, the impulses of an unobtrusive philanthropy, it has become a political necessity. It offers, in its settlements on the coast of Africa, the only solution of the difficult question presented by the existence, in the same land, of two free races between whom amalgamation by intermarriage is impracticable; and it opens an outlet, better than any other, through which the weaker of the two may escape from the pressure of that vast European immigration, which threatens to crush it in a strife for bread—an immigration withheld in mercy until new homes in another continent could be prepared for those who were to disappear before it.

There are some who believe that this immigration, together with the natural increase of our population, may, one day, so affect wages as to make it questionable, whether free white labor, becoming by that time acclimated to the toil of every part of our country, may not be cheaper, under all circumstances, than slave labor; in which event, it is supposed that a voluntary emancipation, prompted by interest alone, may make our whole colored population free. Should such anticipations ever be realized, the importance of the outlet which colonization has opened in the direction of Liberia, will be all the more highly appreciated; and should slavery, from mere lack of other topics for that party excitement which is a necessity, it would seem, of our condition, still continue to be discussed, eagerly and angrily, in high places, the discussion will at all events be made harmless, by the gradual withdrawal of the colored race, of their own accord, from the theatre of the strife.

It forms no part of my purpose to argue the probabilities of such a result. Whether it ever takes place or not, absolutely or in degree, the suggestion presents an aspect of our subject, in which it certainly loses nothing of its magnitude. Without any reference, however, to the future, in this connection, we know enough of colon-

ization, having regard to our existing free colored population only, to see that it involves considerations looking not merely to the civilization and christianization of Africa, but to the welfare and happiness of our own country. If, under its influences, we, on this side of the Atlantic, become an homogeneous people, gradually and almost imperceptibly, or merely remove from us the free of the other race, Africa will owe to it the blessings that even now attend upon it. It has already shewn itself more potent to suppress the slave trade than the laws which declare it piracy, or the squadrons that have been set to watch it. The Bible Society is on its right hand,—the Missionary Society is on its left hand,—close by it is the Sunday School,—the Tract Society finds in it an agency that can be used as the colporteur of a continent; and even total abstinence was a provision in the Constitution of Maryland in Liberia, before Maine laws were dreamed of here.

No American statesman, then, dealing with the great interests of the country, now and for the future, can longer look upon African Colonization as a mere scheme of visionary philanthropy. It has grown to be an element in the combinations that are arranging themselves throughout the world, to be recorded as history. It lives no more on the sound of the great names of those who rocked the cradle of its infancy. It has ceased to quote opinions, and begun to point to facts. Vessels filled with emigrants, now from New York,—to-morrow from Baltimore and Norfolk,—again from Savannah and New Orleans, are its illustrations, and its crowning triumph is the Republic of Liberia.

But the enterprise we have to deal with is, nevertheless, yet in its infancy. Its results, accumulating through generations, are to be fully realized by those only who shall come after us—the descendants of our descendants. Still, that should not discourage us. We, ourselves, are but now elaborating the beginnings of Plymouth and of Jamestown. Those only accomplish great ends among men, who are prophets with a conviction of the truthfulness of their visions, and who have the patience to wait without despondency. No doubter ever won a battle or realized a fortune. Our success, up to this time, in the prosperity and order of our colonies, in the contentment, healthfulness and numbers of their people, in the commerce that has sprung up around and with Libe-

ria, far surpasses the like experiences of all preceding colonizations. We have had, in truth, nothing to discourage us. On the contrary, all things, even those apparently adverse at the time, have worked together for our good; and there is no one reason why African Colonization should not go forward with cheering and congratulation to the accomplishment of that destiny, which was, through the Providence of God, first suggested, only after an association for generations on generations between the whites and the Africans and their descendants, here, had so modified the character of the latter, as to qualify them for the establishment of free, civilized governments in Africa, to which should be attracted, in due season, and in the natural course of events, the free colored population of the United States.

With no past experience, therefore, to make us hesitate, we hold our thirty-seventh anniversary, that we may acquire new confidence in the work that is before us.

When the colony declared itself independent in 1847, the Society was relieved from its political functions as a colonial legislature. But an increasing emigration, greater pecuniary wants, more extensive relations with every part of the Union, had, by this time, greatly multiplied the duties of the executive committee, to which the constitution confides exclusively the business of the Society. Thus, in 1847, the year of independence, but 129 emigrants sailed for Liberia. In 1848 the number was 443; in 1849 it was 422; in 1850 it rose to 507; in 1851 to 676; in 1852 it was 666, and in the year just ended it has been 782. At no time, therefore, since the organization of the society, has there been more occasion for active and incessant exertion in its affairs, than at present.

At a future day, emigration to Africa will fall into the category of all the emigrations that have preceded it, and become self-paying. No emigration, since the world began, has had the same motives to prompt it. But a whole people marches warily, and properly so, from one home to another. Convictions of the necessity of removal impress themselves slowly upon those, whose peculiar characteristic it is to cling to house and hearth-stone. But the result is sure, sooner or later. The circumstances that must produce it are inevitable and irresistible in their operation. Under their influences the free colored

people of this country will one day learn to look upon Africa as the Germans and the Irish now look upon America, and when this shall be the case, their emigration, like that of the others, will be self-paying.

To prepare for the coming of this time, has been the true function of colonization. To this, its great duty, its appointed purpose, its means have been so far sufficient, that, through their use, to quote an able writer, "a christian commonwealth, animated by the spirit of modern civilization, now occupies the abandoned sites of the slaver's barracoons," "and in the distant future will appear to have been among the memorable things of the present age."

The greater task that has often been assigned to the Society, of removing, with its resources, the entire free colored population of the United States, swelling in numbers annually, from emancipation and natural increase, may be admitted to be beyond the amplest means that can reasonably be expected to fall from any quarter into the treasury of the Society; but to what has been already suggested as its appropriate function,—the preparation of a home, to which a voluntary emigration, aided in the beginning, but self-paying in the end, may remove the population in question,—it may hopefully address itself. To this end, the sources of aid heretofore relied upon have been congress, the states and individuals.

Congress, thus far, has made no direct pecuniary contribution; but it has in other ways rendered valuable assistance. It has maintained a squadron on the coast, under the Ashburton treaty, that has rendered vouch at Monrovia, and countenanced by its presence all the settlements in turn. Its agency for re-captured Africans has, even yet more immediately, benefitted the cause. The time may come, when the funds of the nation may be given to forward what may be called emphatically the cause of the nation. The suggestions of distinguished statesmen, in this regard, may be carried out; but the prospect of pecuniary aid from this source is not sufficiently clear to permit the relaxation of earnest efforts to obtain it in other directions; and colonizationists should be told, that upon them, as individuals, yet rests the burden of the day; and they should be invoked by all the considerations that have heretofore influenced them, to continue willingly and liberally to bear it unto the end.

But while there may be uncertainty in

regard to pecuniary aid from Congress, there are ways in which it may assist the cause of colonization, while at the same time it does no more than its duty to the country at large—*It may recognize Liberia, establish a mail service to the West Coast of Africa, and complete the exploration, commenced under the auspices of the government.*

Of course, every body knows that there is an independent nation styled the Republic of Liberia, which is competent to the management of its own affairs, to its own support, and its own defence; that its laws are modeled after our own, and are wisely and efficiently administered; and that it has been recognized by England, France, Prussia, Belgium and Brazil: and at first sight it would seem that all this should satisfy the young republic, so far at least as to make its recognition by other governments, and among them the United States, a matter of indifference. But recognition by this country is of more than ordinary importance to the new community;—because it is from us that it has gone forth, carrying with it our laws and institutions, and receiving from us, annually, those accessions, upon which it depends for strength and consequence. The antecedents of Liberia, our old relations with her people, appeal so strongly to our kindness, and seem to make recognition, here, so much a thing of course almost, that a failure to recognize may well become a matter of surprise, and lead all men to ask the question, “why should this be so?” To the rest of the world, Liberia was a stranger when its leading nations recognized her independence. To America she never can be a stranger; and yet America withholds what strangers have accorded. If, at some future day, Liberia shall fulfil the expectations of her friends, and the fullness of prophecy shall be realized by the continent on whose borders the republic is established, ours will be the honor; for it will be our forms of government that will be found there, our civilization that will prevail there. Even now, it is our statesmen who have been commemorated in the nomenclature of the cities of the coast, as at Monrovia and Harper; and it will be our quiet homes that will be recalled, as the well known names of the families from amongst whom the emigrants have gone, are borne with them to be transplanted and perpetuated beyond the sea. Young, even then, as America may be, she will be traditional for the Liberians. Her past will be their past, as her God is their God; and when

the boundaries of the republic shall be the Senegal and the Niger upon the north and east, and the Atlantic on the south and west, there will be a spot on Sherbro Island venerated as the landing place from the Elizabeth, and a rock at Cape Palmas fenced around about as a memorial of the disembarkation from the Ann. Bound, thus, in the origin of their national existence, to America, it will be our own fault, if the kindness of the association, which has thus become historical, shall not continue until such existence has an end.

But, apart from such general considerations, there are particular ones appealing directly to the interests of our whole country. The United States are as much concerned in the extension of the markets of the world as any other nation, except England, to whom new markets are necessities. We are a manufacturing, and a commercial people. Producing the greater part of our raw material, we manufacture, up to a certain point, to greater advantage than almost any other people, and our ships carry what we manufacture to the uttermost ends of the earth. We have an active intelligence, too, which is annually improving our machinery, so as to increase our manufactures in a ratio almost geometrical. Now, the greatest of the yet unsupplied markets of the world is Africa, with a population of millions on millions, eager to take from us whatever we please to send them, and giving us in exchange gold and ivory—rich dye woods, palm oil, hides, beeswax, coffee, gums and spices, and indeed all the productions of the Tropics. To this market, or at least a very large portion of it, the settlements on the west coast are the keys. The colored people there, from the United States, are the factors of the world, or are to become such, so far as central Africa is concerned. Civilized and intelligent, and able to live in a climate which is fatal to the white man, they fill a place the latter cannot occupy, and to the duties of which the recaptured, or the native, African is incompetent. England, with her large experience at Sierra Leone, Fernando Po, Cape Coast Castle, and in the Niger, appreciated all this, and hastened to make friends of the people of Liberia. The other nations already named followed her example:—and why should we, by our neglect, make unfriends of them, when all their sympathies are with us, and when they still look upon America as “home;”—for such, strange as some may think it, is

nevertheless the fact. Why should it be, that, even now, two-thirds of the commerce of Liberia is in English goods carried in English ships?—All the advantages are on our side. We furnish England the tobacco which is essential to African trade, and supply her with the cotton for the coarse goods with which she glutts the markets on the coast. She has no better ships than we have, no better seamen, no better merchants, not more intelligence, not more enterprise: but she has been wiser than we have been—she has recognized the young nation,—she has given it consequence,—she has won its sympathies,—and thus, by doing that which it would cost us nothing to do likewise, she has deprived us, already, or is in a fair way to deprive us, of those advantages which legitimately belong to us, not by operation of law, but by the operations of the human heart, such as made us, in the olden time, bear and suffer so much, rather than cast off our allegiance to Great Britain, and which made us, when we at last threw it aside, cling so closely to France, because she acknowledged to the world that she held us to be a free and independent people.

It is commerce that is to do the work of African Colonization, as it is now doing the work of European immigration. It is commerce that is to build what has often been termed the bridge of boats, over which is to pass eastward, our free coloured population; and why, to pursue the simile, should we, by our indifference and want of foresight, permit the Anglo-Saxon abutment to be placed at Liverpool, when we have only to will it, that it may be laid with broad and deep foundations in the cities of America.

There is another view of this matter of recognition, which ought perhaps to be taken before passing to other subjects. Whatever may be thought of colonization by even its bitterest opponents, there is probably not one of them who would desire to see Liberia closed to emigration from the United States: and yet what guaranty is there, that it will continue to be permitted, except in the desire of the Liberians to increase in numbers, and to maintain kind relations with this country? Here, in America, there have been cases, where emigrants have been sent back to the old world to countries far more powerful, though not more independent than Liberia; and should Liberia, though from different motives, choose to follow our example, making her interest pay tribute to offended

pride, in this respect, and place restrictions upon immigration from America, there would, I presume, be few in our country who would not deeply deplore a result that might so easily have been obviated. That statesmanship is the most sagacious, which embraces not only the probabilities but the possibilities of the future; and hence the discussion of the subject of recognition would be imperfect, did it not refer to what is here suggested as one of the elements, of greater or less weight, in the consideration of the question.

But, the true policy of this country is to recognize the independence of Liberia, and to do it at once, and, if need be, to guaranty it. Every state in the Union has contributed in men, or in money, or in both, to make the Republic what it is: and the United States, powerful and magnanimous, can gain nothing but credit, by acknowledging that, formally, which is being practically recognized every day. Let those who rule in the Capitol have no doubt upon the subject. The country—the whole country—will uphold them in the act.

And not only should this recognition take place, as a matter of public policy, none the less proper because it promotes a great philanthropy, but a mail service by steamers should be provided, in view of the commerce which the United States have on the coast, and the squadron that they maintain there,—the vessels taking the western Islands and Madeira on their passage out, and running down the coast from Cape Verde, making an offing from Cape Palmas, so as to strike the trade winds and return before them to this country via the West Indies.

The contract for this mail should be given to the American Colonization Society, to whose operations it would afford most important aid. With regularity in opportunity, there would be regularity in emigration; and the days of sailing would find emigrants arriving at the hour, and embarking without the delay which now attends, necessarily, the transient expeditions to Liberia. Not only would emigration be thus facilitated and cheapened, but colonization would be popularized. Africa would be brought, practically, nearer to America. The voyage, being shortened, would be deprived of its terrors to the ignorant and inexperienced; and gradually, there would grow up, from the small beginning now suggested, an "Ebony line," as imposing as that heretofore brought before Congress; and which growing up,

naturally, with the demand for it, would be certain to succeed.

As already seen, England has been before us in the recognition of Liberia; and it is to be added, that she has also anticipated us in a mail to the coast,—a steamer leaving Falmouth every two weeks via the Cape de Verd Islands. The greater part of the correspondence between the United States and Liberia takes this channel; and Lieutenant Lynch, in his recent reconnaissance, actually joined the American Squadron off Monrovia *via* Liverpool. We thus pay back to England, in postages and passages, a portion of our profits on cotton and tobacco.

Again, Congress may perfect the exploration of the country to the interior of Liberia, commenced by Lieutenant Lynch. It has authorized an expedition to the Antarctic Ocean. The vessels of our country are now seeking the head waters of the Amazon, and are among the Islands of Aleutia. Her boats and her flag have floated upon the ponderous waves that roll above “the cities of the plain:” and if her navy has been permitted to explore the Dead Sea borders, for memorials of the past, why should not Africa be explored in reference to the best hopes of the future. An armament more powerful than any which ever left the ports of America, is now seeking to establish a commerce with the Islands of Japan:—a single officer and a few brave men are all that is asked, that a highway for commerce may be opened, pointing to the heart of one of the four quarters of the globe. Surely to this extent at least, Congress may aid colonization.

Next to Congress, in the enumeration of our resources, come the several States. One of the peculiarities of African Colonization is, that while all its friends agree about its exclusive object,—“the removal to Africa, with their own consent, of the free colored people of the United States”—they agree about very little else. Some advocate it in view of the christianization of a continent: some, to put down the slave trade: some, to hasten the separation of the free from a contact with the slaves, which they look upon as injurious to the latter;—some advocate it, that there may be a place of refuge for the colored race; some contribute, hopeless of any great political result, with a commercial view only. So, too, with the several states. In some, the feeling is favorable to the removal of the free—in others of the eman-

ipated slaves alone—in Maryland, the appropriation is for both purposes.

Colonization has thus been likened to the child of many fathers, with friends all round, but with no one willing to assume its exclusive maintenance: and this, to a certain extent, has been true: and its only apology, if one is needed, for such a parentage, is, that without it, it would never have existed at all; and if a meagre nurture and sorry raiment have at all retarded its growth or impaired its comeliness, the fault has been with the parents, while the misfortune has rested upon the offspring. But, perhaps, it may be all the longer-lived, for not having had precocity forced upon it by a greater liberality on the part of those who have the responsibility of its existence.

So far as the Society itself is affected by the variety of the motives that exist for advocating the cause, it is uninfluenced by any of them. Its work is the removal of emigrants, not the discussion of the motives for emigration. It has refrained from the commencement, and will refrain to the end, from taking part in any controversy in regard to slavery. This is its only becoming course, due alike to its dignity and good faith; and to the fact, that for Thirty-seven years, it has owed its existence to the support that it has received from both north and south, slaveholders and non-slaveholders, whose representatives, meeting at the successive anniversaries, have waived all points of difference, and united in the one great work of founding and maintaining the colony, and promoting the removal to it of such free persons as desired to emigrate,—with what result has been already shown.

Advocated, however, as colonization certainly has been, for varying reasons, there might be a difficulty, in agreeing, in Congress, about the proper class of beneficiaries, in the event of a direct appropriation by the General Government. But no such difficulty can take place in the State Legislatures, where each may select for itself the objects of its bounty, according to its peculiar predilections.

To the several states, therefore, the Society looks with great interest, in connection with this matter. Already, the States of Virginia, Maryland, Indiana, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, have made appropriations; and it is anticipated, not unreasonably, that the others will gradually follow their example.

If this action of the several States in-

voiced the maintainance by each of an organization looking to the shipment of emigrants, and such as makes the American Colonization Society, to some extent, a commercial agency, there would be many objections to it. The result would be complication, and, very probably, a good deal of confusion. Some States might succeed, while others would fail. But the existence of the Parent Society obviates this difficulty, in affording the agency that is necessary. The founder of the settlements on the coast, their friend and guardian from infancy to youth, and now maintaining that intercourse with the Republic which can best be carried on by a single head, it possesses an experience, which it has obtained at some cost, and which admirably fits it for the present exigencies of the Colonization cause.

The last of the resources of the Society are its individual contributions. They have been its main reliance from the beginning. They enable it to meet its local expenses, to maintain its agents throughout the country, to send shipload after shipload of emigrants to Africa, and to provide for them for a season there. They form the certainties upon which thousands are now dependent, and upon which thousands on thousands must continue to depend, until, as already intimated, the attractions of Liberia and the repulsions of America, shall make African colonization a self-paying one. Congress may appropriate money, the states, all of them, may do the same, and yet the functions of the American Colonization Society will not cease, until Liberia shall see emigrants arrive, as America now sees them, on the instant of their arrival only, losing sight of them as they are at once absorbed into the great body of the people. To the maintenance of the individual collections, therefore, the co-operation of all who wish well to the cause, over the length and breadth of the land, is most earnestly invoked; and to secure it the efforts of the officers and agents of the Society will doubtless be zealously directed.

The relations of the Society with the free people of colour are too important not to be noticed, separately, on an occasion like the present. Without their co-operation, colonization can have no results: and how much better would it not be, if this co-operation were produced by none but the kindest feelings. In establishing colonies on the coast, colonizationists have been governed by a conviction of the exigencies of the future already described;

and the events of succeeding years have only corroborated their convictions: and when the opponents of the cause have pointed to the increasing intelligence, the greater diffusion of education among free coloured people, and to the honorable positions, in a moral and intellectual point of view, obtained by many of them in this country, as reasons for anticipating a time when they may be recognized as socially and politically the equals of the whites, Colonizationists, freely and to the fullest extent admitting every thing thus claimed in their behalf, have relied upon it for a wholly different purpose, as they discovered, in their increasing sensitiveness and pride, consequent upon increasing mental culture, only additional obstacles to the continuing residence, in the same land, of two free races between whom amalgamation by intermarriage was impracticable. The refinement of the class in question must settle for ever the necessity of their colonization, and they themselves should be the first to acknowledge and proclaim it. Ignorance and callousness may be satisfied with nominal freedom. Educated intelligence cannot tolerate it. And where the free colored man in America is educated and intelligent, and there are numbers who are both, he is like the prisoner in the cages that we read of, who would give life itself for the ability, but for a single hour, once more to extend each limb to the uttermost, and to stand again erect in the full measure of his manhood. While some, therefore, look upon the improvement, here, of the free colored man, as bringing him nearer to the object of his wishes, colonizationists rejoice in it as justifying that confidence in his capacity, without which their scheme, originally, would have been nothing better than a barbarous plan of removing the whole class to Africa, that they might perish on its shores, or relapse into the savage idolatry of their pagan forefathers.

If, agreeing with the Colonizationists, the free people of color are influenced to emigrate before the coming of the evil day so often referred to, so much the better. Should they, doubting the prophecy, abide the event, Colonizationists, with whom has been the vision, will at any rate, have done their duty.

I have thus, on the first occasion that presented itself, expressed, as President of the Society, frankly, and in what I have intended should be a business way, my views in regard to its leading interests, even at the risk of repeating verbatim, perhaps, speeches heretofore delivered

during the thirty years of my connection with the cause.

Thirty-seven years is the age of the Society : a brief one it is true, but crowded with interest for future history, in connection with Africa and her people. In 1816, immigration from Europe was unfrequent, creating pressure no where. In 1854, it rolls onward and over like a mighty wave, each of whose culminations is higher than the last as it falls upon our shores. In 1816, the ships of the world were not supposed to be adequate to the task of removing to Africa the increase even of our colored population. In 1853, the ordinary commerce of our country brought to us from Europe half a million of souls, exceeding by some 70,000 the total number of our free colored population. In 1816, the future of the latter was the reflection of a happy and careless past. In 1854, it is dark and gloomy and unpromising, with no break in the clouds, no lifting of the mist, no lighting up of the heavens, save across the ocean, and in the direction of Liberia. In 1816, Union in connection with slavery, was never spoken of, because disunion was not even the shadow of a dream. In 1854, Union has become a rallying word, a prayer—just as the relation of father became holier, after the idea of parricide had been suggested. In 1816, colonization was a philanthropy, limited in its views and uncertain in its results. In 1854, it is a political necessity, not political in the sense of party, but as the word regards the happiness of man, the permanence of nations, the spread of knowledge and the advance of christianity. In 1816, colonizationists were looked upon as zealots engaged in an impracticable scheme. In 1854, the great nations of the world are making treaties with the workmanship of this zeal, and so paying homage to its availability. In 1816, from Cape Verde to Cape Palmas, the coast of Africa presented a shining belt of sand, on which the waves broke with thundering sound, bathing the roots almost of the rich dank forest which waved its feathery crests of palm and cocoa above the rolling waters, and sheltered the barracoon of the slaver from the one cape

to the other. In 1854, there stretches along the deep, the same silvery line, and the cocoa and the palm still wave their foliage as landmarks above the horizon of the forest. But the barracoon is wanting in the landscape. The squadrons of civilized men line the coast that it may never be seen there more. Ships of all nations are busy in lawful commerce : and on the shore there are the dwellings of christian men and temples to the living God. Lighthouses guide the mariner from point to point. Vessels are on the stocks—saw mills are in operation—printing presses are at work,—the school master is abroad—candidates are up for office—a legislature is in session—a president sends in his annual message—a militia is equipped and trained and tried—and above all—far,—high,—away,—above all,—there is true freedom, religion, happiness and peace; and when, in its turn, that the succession of events may be complete, the funeral procession moves along, the dust that returns to the dust, is that of one who dying invoked blessings upon those who had built up, for God glory, and for the welfare of one mighty nation and the enlightenment of a continent, the Republic of Liberia.

Such are the demonstrations of 1854, compared with the dreamings of 1816. This is the cause whose anniversary we now commemorate. This is the people, whom we do most earnestly hope Congress may recognize as a nation among the nations. This is the people, that we would have brought so near to us by mails, by opportunities of intercourse, that the transit eastward may be as familiar as a morning walk. This is the cause, and this is the people, that we would have the States of the Union aid on their way to the fulfilment of their destiny, and to promote the interests of which we invoke the aid of every man and woman in America, who love their country and are willing to co-operate for its glory and renown—promising, to each and every one of them, that history shall tell of them and theirs no nobler story, than that which records the exodus of Africa with the religion and civilization of America.

Late from Liberia.

Just as we were going to press, we received letters from Monrovia, via England, to the 18th January last, informing us of the safe arrival of the ship *Banshee* the 19th December and the barque *Isla de*

Cuba the 18th of the same month. Our correspondents write encouragingly of the condition and prospects of affairs in the Republic. After a peaceful session, the Legislature adjourned the 11th January.

Address of the Hon. James M. Wayne, of Georgia:

AT THE 37th ANNIVERSARY, JANUARY 17th, 1854.

MR. PRESIDENT :

I congratulate you, sir, upon your position in this Society, and the Society that you are its President. To succeed such men as have preceded you, is no ordinary distinction ; but you, sir, have deserved it from your long and uniform support of the objects of this Society. If the propriety of the selection could be questioned, your address this evening would give the answer. I trust, sir, that it will be extensively circulated, in connexion with all other information of a like kind, which the Society may have in its possession. We still have prejudices to meet and to remove, opposition to encounter and to subdue, and much to do to put this Society and what it has done in a proper view before this nation. It has never had the full sympathy of the American people, and but little of that of the Federal Government. The time has come, when both may be won, if a right course shall be taken to gain them. To do so, we must use freely all of those agencies by which public sentiment may be arrayed in favor of a good cause. The short-hand writer, the telegraph and the press are at our command. They must be employed and paid, to promulgate whatever may be done here, as soon as it is done, and whatever shall happen in connexion with this Society, as soon as it is known. We must do all that our predecessors did, and more. We cannot surpass them in merit, but we may equal them in effort. And we can do more, because the world's apprehension now, of the rights of humanity, whatever may be the color of the man, or wherever he may be found, has removed many difficulties which were in the way of colonizing our free people of color in Africa, when this Society was formed. Then every maritime nation in Europe, except Denmark and England, permitted their subjects to carry on the slave trade from Africa. Their factories and barracoons lined its coast, for more than three thousand miles. Every day's sun rose and set upon the sufferings of victims, added to those of the day before. Now all Christendom denounces such a trade as an odious crime. "From treaties and conventions which have been made by the nations of Europe to abandon it;" it ought henceforth to be considered as interdicted by the international code of Europe and America. It

was this trade which made the colonization of our free people of color in Africa, when this Society was formed, most difficult and uncertain. And it would yet be so, had there been merely a passive abandonment of the trade. But it was known, that having been pursued for more than two hundred years, it would be unlawfully continued,—as it has been, and is to this day—unless the nations of Europe and the United States would actively interfere to enforce the prohibition. It has been extinguished upon the Liberian coast and upon all of that colonized by England; but is still connived at by most of the authorities of the other nations of Europe, which have settlements upon the Western Coast of Africa. In consequence of this, Europe is now combined to give life and energy to their treaties upon this subject. The squadrons of England, France and the United States, enforce them. Severe penalties have been legislatively enacted, by all the nations of Europe and by ourselves, to punish all who shall be caught engaged in the slave trade, or in fitting out vessels for that purpose. This state of things has shown, too, that a richer commerce may be had with Africa than a slave trade. The nations in the interior of it, and the tribes upon the coast, have also found that out, and must pursue it, if the unlawful trade shall be extinguished, as neither Europe nor America will any longer deal with them for slaves. Besides, sir, that man must be blind to the impressions of Providence, during the last forty years, upon the understandings of men, if he cannot see, that their tendency is, to give to us a more intelligent view of right, with a disposition to support it, and to move our hearts with kindness towards all of the human race. Such are some of the changes in the last forty years, which prompt us to be active and earnest in our efforts to advance the objects of this Society, and which it had not in its favor when it was formed.

Our domestic condition now increases our obligation to do so. There are at this time in the United States, three times the number of free persons of color, that there were when the Society began to colonize them in Africa. If they are not harmless as a class, we know it to be chiefly owing to their necessarily inferior social and civil condition. They are freedmen without

liberty; are mostly without the privileges of instruction, or the right to labor as they please; and can never hope that their posterity here can become more elevated than themselves.

It is useless now to speculate upon the origin of their condition, or to speak of the policy of those restraints under which they must always live in the United States. They are imposed more or less in all of the States.

Society is natural, but its organization is artificial and adventitious. It has rarely in its beginning been favorable to equality of condition. Superiority of mind or of body, or larger possession of what makes property, have divided all communities at first into classes. The lower have served the higher for something to live upon, but as society advanced and labor became more oppressive, or was more wanted, all classes have been willing to lighten its burden, by the absoluteness of domestic servitude; if those could be found who could be coerced to bear it. War, want, crime, climate, peace and mistaken views of religion, have been the pretexts for reducing men into slavery. But pretexts as they are, when slavery has become habitual, and has been for a long time a part of the policy of any community, its safety may not permit the dissolution of the evil all at once. Rights grow up under such a system, which cannot with justice be suddenly taken away. All experience shows that every untimely interference with it, has produced neither good to the state, to the master, nor to the slave. When attempted by an external intervention, out of the sovereignty where it exists, it has always produced bloodshed, massacre and war. All that a nation can do, in which there is such a relation, is to deal with it kindly, in such a manner that the integrity of the state may be preserved. Its real duty is not to permit any other state or authority to interfere with it.

But, sir, slavery has never existed in ancient or modern times, nor anywhere, without the allowance of partial emancipation. This makes another class, larger in numbers, than the relations upon a superficial view of it, would seem to admit. In our own country, the number is one-eighth of the whole of our colored population. In the chapter of Roman civilization, its legislation for this class is one of the most curious and instructive in the history of man.—It was always difficult to deal with, but its result was, that the emancipated freedman, having lost the

guardianship of his owner, became the ward of the state. It gave to him protection but not citizenship, exemption from coerced labor, but only the right to labor in particular employments. The taint of servile blood, though the freedmen of Rome were white persons, followed their posterity to the third and fourth generations. Their children were called libertini, their grandchildren ingenues. Horace was of the latter class;—and if the caprice of the aristocracy, or of the Emperor, admitted some of them at times to the highest social intercourse, the class were never permitted to enjoy its equality until there was no recollection of the servitude of their ancestors.

How much more hopeless is the state of the African freedman of the United States. They never can become here, in social life, more than they are. Living, as they do, wherever they may live in the United States, only by the toleration of the States, they can never have, wherever they may be, exemption from legislative constraint, or the benefit of those sanctions of municipal morality which might otherwise give to them purity as a class.

It was this view of the colored freedman of America which led to the formation of this Society. Its first object was to give them a home, where they would be unprejudiced by color. Africa could alone give that security. There, it was hoped and believed, that their moral and intellectual capacity could be developed to its fullest extent, whatever that may be. That they would rear for themselves a government of law and order, resting upon liberty and religion. That they would teach to others all they had learned here, and give to the land of their fathers the tone and the habits of christian civilization.

Experience has shown that the framers of this Society were right in their anticipations, as well as in their benevolence. Acting then upon the existing state of things, and leaving the future to that Providence which guides us in mercy, the object of this Society is to colonize the freed man of color. It never meant by its agency, to make any other change in the condition of the colored man of this country. It has adhered to its pledges, and to its particular mission. And we are here this evening to tell you what it has done, and to ask your co-operation to enable us to do more. Our motives for doing so are stronger than they were—our free people of color have increased, and are doing so every day. Their intelligence

is larger than it was thirty years since ; and this society has provided for them a standing point in Africa, to which they may go, unapprehensive of want, disease, or savage repulse.

Every chance which we have to do good, is a gift from Providence. Let us avail ourselves of this in behalf of the free colored persons of our country. It is no longer so much a matter of choice, as it is of duty. All that is wanted is a corresponding sympathy. Information of what has been done and what can be done, may produce it. We hope for it and do not believe that the sympathy of the American people will be withheld from this cause. We are assured, that there is in the American heart a responsive feeling for every wrong and suffering of humanity. Touch it lightly and it will yield liberally. Approach it through the understanding, and if there shall be no outward gush of enthusiasm, there is a well-spring in it to quench the thirst of all who are wandering in the desert, until they shall reach the promised land. (Applause.) Our ignorance of what this Society has done would surprise me, if I had not to express what had been my own, until my attention was called to it by two of my friends. One of them, early and for a long time an agent of this Society in Africa—and again sent there as an agent of the Federal Government to report upon the condition of Liberia, (the Rev. R. R. Gurley)—The other my venerable friend now in our view, who enjoys the high respect and consideration of all of us, and whose virtues and integrity have placed him above the resentments and the touch of party—(Hon. Elisha Whittlesey.) (Applause.) The successful realities of Liberian Colonization are but little known by a large portion of our country. It is perhaps universally known, that this Society has been in operation for more than thirty years. It is also known, that thousands of our free people of color have been colonized in Africa—but their social and political condition are not generally understood. It is not at this day generally known that the Colony has passed from a colonial dependency to a national Sovereignty. That it has been acknowledged as such by some of the largest powers in Europe. That it has made treaties with them, giving to this African Republic, the protection of all of those international usages and obligations, which regulate the intercourse of nations. Liberia, sir, including the Maryland set-

tlement at Cape Palmas—as you have just told us, has a sea coast of more than three hundred miles—with an average interior of more than forty miles. And there are voluntarily within its territorial jurisdiction, subject to its control, more than two hundred thousand native Africans. Liberia has also treaties with other tribes further in the interior, founded upon our modern relations of civilization and commerce.—We may reasonably suppose, when they have experienced their advantages, that other tribes and nations more remote, will seek for a like concession.

My friend, Mr. Gurley, says in his report to the Senate, that the relations of the Liberian government to these African tribes, are peaceful and friendly, and its authority over them salutary and beneficent. It has banished the slave trade from all of this district of Africa, settled the differences which separated them, and suppressed the wars which have for centuries spread misery and desolation among them. Some of their most barbarous superstitions have been interrupted, if they are not altogether eradicated. Liberia too has given them incentives to industry, supplied new motives for trade, and incites them to listen and become enriched with the blessings of civilization and christianity. I am not sure that my memory has done justice to the language of the report, but I am, that it has not been exaggerated. Liberia has also a political organization which cannot fail to excite the sympathies of the American people. Its constitution, as a State paper, is not inferior to that of any other people who have asserted their national sovereignty in the last century. Its statement of the causes which had induced them to assume such a position, are truthful and manly. It has all the forbearance of christian humility, with the hopes and strength of christian confidence. And its final appeal “in the name of humanity and virtue, and religion—in the name of the Great God, our common creator and common judge ; for the sympathy of the nations of christendom, to which the peculiarities of their condition entitle them”—brings at once this response from our hearts that God has made all the nations of the earth of one flesh. Their government too has been administered by themselves for more than six years with discretion, and with enlarged views of the obligations cast upon Liberia from its position.—Now the ships of all nations are found in its harbors, receiving in return for the

goods which they have carried, African products which the arts and manufactures of modern times cannot do without. Nor must it be thought that Liberia has become what it is, without having encountered all those perils and sufferings which have uniformly marked the colonization of a savage coast. Turn your memories to the land where the war whoops and tomahawk of the Indian were met by the stern resolve of the first settlers of our own coast, and you have the renewal of the same savage wars in Liberia. Were it my privilege to speak to-night the eulogies of individuals, or of the triumphs of battles, enough could be told to excite your surprise and sympathy, for the unsurpassed christian devotion and heroism of the men, who suffered all and lost all, to establish this new Christian Republic.

Still with all the advantages of Liberia, and its entire fitness for all our free people of color, its resources are not sufficient for the support of its government; and for it at the same time, to act efficiently in maintaining her position in relation to much of Africa, nearest to it. If trade shall strengthen it, it will be remembered that the savage nations about them will receive from the same source every muniment of war. It needs a large population of the same cast, color and training with themselves to meet such an event, and to aid in opening the riches of her soil.— They can only be found here. She needs them also to aid in extending her christian influence, and to suppress the slave trade upon the coast, coterminous with her own. In such a cause, individuals may do much to aid this Society in sending to Liberia that portion of our free people of color who are willing to emigrate. But we should do more. It is our duty to act together, until we have aroused a public opinion—strong enough, to induce the legislative power of the Federal Government, to give its aid in colonizing our free people of color in Africa.

No combination is necessary in such a cause, but a sense of what is right, and what the interests of the United States require. We need no party interference or league, and should reject them; for the men of all parties in our country have the same impulses of humanity. But it is true that the human heart does not readily yield to its more generous propensities: and its indiffrence to all that does not immediately concern ourselves must be overcome by persuasion and kind remonstrance, before it will act to remove an ex-

isting evil or to redress a public wrong.—Revolutions move with a quick step—reformation with a slow foot. Still, if there be a real cause of reformation, its march will be sure. So it has been in all cases, where the aid of Government has been asked for a good cause, not immediately connected with its political administration. In such instances, there must be co-operation to obtain it. A single person has often produced it. Nay, have not all the reformations of our own, and of other days, began with some one individual, who perceiving that one was wanted, did not shrink from attempting its accomplishment. Infusing his own spirit into others, they became a part of himself, and afterwards moved as a mass, making a public opinion in favor of his cause, where there was none before.—Need I remind you that the first movement in the British Parliament for the abolition of the slave trade, was owing to the benevolent, bold and persevering efforts and remonstrances of Clarkson. Though his King and the avarice of a long established trade were against him, he subdued both unto humanity. Was not the heart of all Europe hardened against the sufferings of prisoners until the philanthropy of Howard softened it into commiseration. And do we not see in our own country hospitals and asylums for suffering humanity reared by Government, from the persuasive instigations of a female, who womanly as she is, is stronger in her purposes of benevolence than any one of us—Miss Dix. (Applause.) I have said that the aid of the Federal Government must be sought. Fortunately it can be constitutionally given, and our national interests coincide with its power. But I pray you in advance, if in the discussion of this point, some things may be said which have the appearance of being political, not to suppose they are meant to be so. I am incapable of doing so at this time, and at this place.

The constitutional power of our Federal Government to aid in colonizing our free people of color, rests upon the connexion which the States of the Union have had with slavery before and since the Declaration of Independence. It began in our colonial condition: the importation of slaves into them from Africa, having been a part of the policy of the mother country. When the Revolutionary war began, slavery existed in every State, and slaves were considered and used by all of them as property. They descended by inherit-

ance as they do now where slavery continues; and were transferable at the will of their owners by purchase and sale, without any limitation as to the manner of sale. There was however this difference in the condition of the states. In some of them an early cessation of slavery was anticipated. In the larger number it was certain that it would continue for a longer time. This difference however had no influence upon the proceedings of the Congress of the colonies, but some feeling was excited, when it prohibited the importation of slaves. Not that under the circumstances, it was not thought proper, but it was considered by some of the delegates as having been prematurely done, with the intention to introduce it into the articles of confederation; which Congress designed to form as soon as the Declaration of Independence should be made. But every difference then yielded to the exigency of the times. All knew, that without the union of all the colonies, that independence could not be won. Our independence was declared and the articles of confederation were formed, without any clause relating to the powers of the States concerning slavery, but in the general admitting its existence in the States. In the mean time, between the acceptance of the articles of confederation and the acknowledgment of our Independence, Congress had acquired for the United States, by cession from the States, the northwestern territory. It had been resolved by Congress as early as seventeen hundred and eighty, that such relinquishments of lands by the States should be disposed of for the common benefit of the United States, and should be formed into Republican States, to become States of the Union, with the rights of sovereignty. In a little more than three years after peace had been made, Congress passed an ordinance for the government of that territory. Then for the second time, the subject of slavery was brought into political discussion; but not with the angry feelings which have since been manifested. On the contrary, moderation, forbearance and a proper view of the existence of slavery among us, gave the first great triumph to our national humanity. Two stipulations were made in that ordinance; the larger, that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude should exist in the territory. The lesser:—"Provided always, that any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed, in any one of

the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid." This was the original of that clause in our present constitution to the same effect. In less than two years afterward, the convention was called to frame that constitution. Slavery became again the subject of discussion, and it was essential that some compromise should be made with the consent of all the States, before our Union, as it is, could be formed. What was it? It was the incorporation into the Constitution of the fugitive clause from the ordinance, with a still greater triumph of humanity, that the Congress of the United States should have the power within a given time to prohibit the African slave trade. This of course was a limitation upon the increase of slaves in the United States. The lesser provision was satisfactory to all, particularly to the States most interested in its execution. And there was one harmonious hymn of thankfulness throughout our country, that our nation had been the first among the nations of the earth to provide for the extinguishment of the greatest curse that man had ever inflicted upon his fellow man. Both of these clauses of the Constitution were meant to be grants of legislative power. They have always been acted upon as such.—At first and for more than thirty years always in harmony, or without producing excitement of any kind. In seventeen hundred and ninety-three—as soon after the legislative organization under the new Constitution had been enacted as it could be done, Congress acted upon the lesser clause concerning fugitives from labor. It comprehended the States and territories in the north west or south of the River Ohio also. In the next Congress, under the larger clause relating to the migration or importation of such persons as any of the States themselves shall think proper to admit; an act was passed prohibiting the slave trade from being carried on from the United States, to any foreign place or country—also prohibiting American ships from transporting slaves from foreign places, to other foreign ports. The ship was to be forfeited, and those concerned in giving a vessel such a destination were subjected to heavy pecuniary penalties. In eighteen hundred, a more efficient law was passed. It prohibited our citizens, and all other persons residing in the country who were not so, from holding any property in a vessel which was to be

employed in the transportation of slaves from one foreign port to another foreign port. Neither citizens, nor other persons residing in the United States, could be employed on board such vessels. They were made liable to capture by any commissioned vessel of the United States. Then in eighteen hundred and three, some of the States having by that time declared that slaves should not be brought into them, Congress passed an act to aid in enforcing the prohibition. Finally the act of eighteen hundred and seven was passed, prohibiting the importation of slaves into the United States. Thus consummating those great purposes of humanity; which the Constitution was meant to accomplish and guard—all happening under those compromises in the Constitution relating to slavery; just as it was anticipated they would do, and as those who framed the Constitution, and as the people who ratified it, meant they should do. My narrative of the connexion of the Federal Government with slavery is not yet done. I will now show what its practice has been under that clause of the Constitution prohibiting the importation of slaves, from which we may gather its power and its obligation to aid in the removal of our free people of color from the United States.

Eight years after the date of the act, which put an end to the importation of slaves, we had passed through our second war with England. In the 10th Article of the treaty of peace, we find the slave trade denounced as irreconcilable with the principles of humanity and justice; and both nations contracting to use their efforts to promote its entire abolition. I do not know what other persons think about it; I do not know that I am right; but I have sometimes thought, with the glories of that war upon our national escutcheon, in proud companionship with those of the Revolution, that such a tribute to humanity was worth to both nations all the cost of the war. (Applause.) The United States, true to the obligation imposed by that treaty, passed an act in addition to the acts prohibiting the slave trade; and another making it piracy for our citizens to be engaged in it. It is to the first of these two acts to which I wish to call your attention: Because it discloses how the powers to regulate commerce and to prevent the importation of slaves into the United States, have been exercised by Congress. It shows further that the

Federal Government has already colonized Africans in Africa, and that it may, if our commerce can be advanced by doing so, aid in the colonization of our free people of color. That act declares, that the armed vessels of the United States, may be employed to enforce the acts of Congress which prohibit the slave trade, and it authorises the President to make arrangements to remove beyond the limits of the United States all negroes and persons of color, who may be brought into the United States; and that he may appoint agents to reside in Africa to receive there such persons. And one hundred thousand dollars were appropriated to carry the law into effect. Under this act the President appointed agents for its purposes, sent laborers to prepare for the reception of such Africans as might be liberated from American slave ships; chartered a ship to carry them to Africa, on board of which the first colonists of the Society went, accompanied by a ship of war, commissioned for that purpose.—And under the act the government has done the same in other cases. England no less sincere, has kept her faith, at a cost which the finances of no other nation could have borne. No vulgar views of interest prompted the action of either nation. It was a great and positive illustration of the age, how christianity influenced the practices of nations as well as the consciences of individuals.—And if its purifying efficacy was not sufficient, when it put an end to white slavery in Europe, to prevent African slavery from succeeding it, it can only be accounted for from the fact, that but a short time before the mariner's compass "had opened the universe," and given to Europe a new continent for its enterprise.—All of us know, that the discovery of America corrupted at first the desires and the habits of Europe: and that in the eagerness of its natives to possess its mines and work its lands, that all of them compromised their consciences, by adopting the old Greek and Roman barbarism, that barbarians might be enslaved.

Contrast the condition of the world now, with what it was when England and the United States made their treaty to use their efforts to put down the slave trade. Then every maritime nation in Europe sanctioned and pursued it. Now it has been abandoned by all of them, under the influence and under the example of England and the United States. Both nations have kept the object constantly in view.

In our last treaty with England—familiarily known as the Webster-Ashburton treaty; both nations have stipulated to employ portions of their naval marine on the coast of Africa, to capture vessels unlawfully engaged in the slave trade; and further, they bind themselves to remonstrate against its continuance by any nation then permitting it. France has since made a like treaty with England. Indeed the United States has always readily met every direct proposal for the abolition of the slave trade. Our refusal to give a right of search of our ships upon the ocean for that purpose, stands upon different grounds. We did not do so, because we were unwilling that a strict right of war should be converted into a practice in peace. Because such a right in peace could not be given without its being unequal in its execution between the nations conceding it, as the larger nation would more frequently interrupt the commerce of the lesser; and because such a practice in peace would be likely to lead to war. Such has been the course of the Federal Government to suppress the slave trade, without its constitutionality having been questioned.

What shall be the next step in the march of our national humanity? It should be to adopt any additional means which give the strongest promise, to accomplish the hitherto unexecuted purpose. Let the nationality of Liberia be acknowledged. It does not imply unrestrained intercourse. That may be regulated by treaty, subordinately to the differing condition and interests of the States. It has been shown that the Federal Government has colonized slaves in Africa, under its power to regulate commerce, and its power to prevent importation of slaves. The statute under which it was done is still unrepealed. It may then be done again. Its obligation implies that the ways and means for discharging it, may be any which the expediency of such an occasion may require. We may unite with Liberia as we have done with England to extinguish the slave trade. We may have an agent there for the extension of our commerce with Africa. Or we may purchase territory there and colonize it with the same view, and strengthen it by sending such of our free people of color as may be willing to emigrate; whether they have become so under the influences of this Society or otherwise. There is no indirection in the suggestions which have been made. All of them have the sanction of those men of the

early days of this Republic, to whom we still look as guides to direct us as to what the Constitution forbids or allows.

Mr. Jefferson, as early as eighteen hundred and one, expressed views upon this subject, from which I will repeat extracts in his own words. The House of Delegates of Virginia in 1800, requested its Governor, then Mr. Munroe, to correspond with the President of the United States on the subject of purchasing lands without the limits of the United States, whither persons obnoxious to the laws, or dangerous to the peace of society, may be removed.

Mr. Jefferson, then the President of the U. States, in his letter in reply to Mr. Munroe's communicating the resolution, approves the object of it, and says: "The plan of relegation may be executed with the aid of the Federal Executive." Mr. Munroe sent his letter to the General Assembly, but being doubtful as Mr. Jefferson was, what persons were contemplated by the resolution, he asks the Legislature to be more precise in that particular. His language is, "It remains therefore, for the General Assembly to explain more fully the description of persons who are to be transported." It answers, that the Governor be requested to correspond with the President of the United States, for the purpose of obtaining a place without the limits of the same, to which *such free negroes and mulattoes, and such of them as may be emancipated*, may be sent or choose to remove as a place of asylum; and that it was not the wish of the Legislature to obtain the sovereignty of the place. Thus matters stood, until 1804, when Mr. Jefferson resumed the subject of the resolution of 1800 and 1804. In a letter to Governor Page, he says, I have it not in my power to say that any change of circumstances has taken place which enables me yet to propose any specific Asylum for the persons who are the subjects of our correspondence. I beg you to be assured that having the object of the House of Delegates sincerely at heart, I will keep it under my constant attention, and omit no occasion which may occur to give it effect—as Mr. Jefferson had stated in his letter that there were objections to the places to which his mind had been directed for the asylum; with a suggestion that it might be made in the remote parts of Louisiana. The General Assembly passed another resolution, instructing its Senators in Congress and requesting that its Representatives do exert their best efforts for

the purpose of obtaining from the General Government a competent portion of the territory of Louisiana, to be the residence of such people of color as have been, or shall be emancipated in Virginia, or may hereafter become dangerous to the public safety. Afterwards, in 1811, Mr. Jefferson received a letter from a private person asking him to give his opinion upon the practicability of establishing a colony on the western coast of Africa. In his answer he gives an account of his official action upon the resolves of the Virginia Legislature. He says that he had proposed Sierra Leone, and if that could not be obtained, some of the Portuguese possessions in South America, expressing it however as his opinion that Africa was preferable. He further states, that he had written to our Minister in London, Mr. King, "to endeavor to negotiate with the Sierra Leone company to receive such of these people as might be colonized thither." Further, that the effort which he had made with Portugal to obtain an establishment from them, proved also abortive. And in reply to the question, whether he would use his endeavors to procure such an establishment, he says, "Certainly I shall be willing to do any thing I can to give it effect and safety," and again, "*that nothing is more to be wished than that the United States would themselves, undertake to make such an establishment on the coast of Africa.*" He adds, "exclusive of motives of humanity, the commercial advantages to be derived from it might defray all expenses." Mr. Munroe partook fully of the views of Mr. Jefferson. Mr. Madison entertained the same opinion, and expressed himself in favor of the removal of our free people of color, as a question truly of a national character. I might cite the names of several of our distinguished men of that day, who expressed the same opinions and wishes. When this Society subsequently petitioned Congress for aid, the committee to which the subject was referred, reported that nothing was more desirable or worthy of the pecuniary resources of the country, than to provide for the removal of our free people of color. Several of the States have passed resolutions in favor of its being done by the United States. Maryland, Virginia, Tennessee and Kentucky. I do not mistake the number, when I say that twelve of them have done so. Why then may it not be done, and be better done, through the agency of Liberia and of this Society

than any other way. The situation of the first, and of this Society, recommend them. Liberia has become what it is, from the efforts of this Society. It now rejoices, confidently believing the prospect to be cheering, that it has given to Africa, through the instrumentality of our free people of color, all the advantages of our entire civilization, with our christian belief and our christian life. Should the christian world view correctly, all that this Society has done, and what Liberia is, it will not fail to make it the chief point for its future missionary efforts for Africa. No one doubts the constitutional right of our National Government to colonize either a newly discovered country where such a discovery has been made by our own ships, commercial or military. Or that it may purchase territory for the same purpose.

It may do so by a direct purchase and transfer, under the form of treaty. It may be done under the war power, by treaty, in anticipation of what our national defences may suggest to be proper, or we may take territory as one of the incidents of successful war. It may do so, under the power to regulate commerce. And there is a great constitutional conservative obligation upon the National Government to remove a national evil, when it presses upon the general welfare of the United States, and when it can be done without interfering with the rights of private property, or with those institutions allowed by the states, and which were meant to be guarded by the constitution of the United States. That conservative obligation will be found in the first clause of the eighth section of the first article of the Constitution. It is, "the Congress shall have power to lay, and collect taxes, duties, imports, and excises, to pay the debts and to provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States." In this I suggest no new or loose interpretation of the Constitution. I reject, myself, the employment of all means, which are not essential to the execution of a substantively granted power, in the Constitution. That no means shall be legislatively used to enforce a grant of power in the Constitution, which do not concur with the intent of the power and with the extent of the obligation which it imposes. And that such intent and extent may only be inferred by giving to the language of the grant, just that meaning which each word of it has in its common use and accepta-

tion in the English language. Let me be not confounded with those who have resorted to the preamble of the Constitution, in which the same words, "provide for the common defence and general welfare," are found; to infer a legislative ability in Congress, out of the particular grants in the Constitution. The difference between those words in the preamble, and in the clause to which reference has been made, is this, that they are in the first a recital of the motives which induced the people of the States to ratify the Constitution—and in the clause, they recognized it as a grant of power for which national revenue might be raised and applied.—But there is to be found an analogous practice in the legislation of this Government, which has no other constitutional authority than such as have been mentioned, to shew how its powers may be used to colonize our free people of color in Africa. I mean the colonization of the Indian tribes. Have not those tribes from the beginning of the National Government been colonized? Except in the clause to regulate commerce with the Indian tribes, and in that which apportioned the representation of the States in Congress, the word Indian is not to be found in the Constitution. But as the Indian tribes, whether within, or beyond the territorial limits of the States, were considered by us, (as they have been by all the nations of Europe which colonized any part of the American continent) as independent nations, with a right of occupancy of their lands, but without the power to sell them, unless permitted to do so, by the sovereignty within whose territorial limits their lands were; they have been brought within the treaty-making power to get from them cessions of their lands, and when they were made; within that policy of the general welfare of the United States, which for our interest and their own, required that they should be removed at the cost of the United States. The Federal Government made a compact with the State of Georgia, to buy from the Indians in Georgia, their right of occupancy to their unceded lands in that State, with an obligation to remove them from the State, when the purchase could be made. It has been done. A treaty was made in 1828, with the Cherokee Indians west of the Mississippi, to colonize them at the cost of the United States, in another part of Arkansas, than where they were.—Eaton and Coffee's treaty with the Mingoes and the warriors of the Choctaw

Nation, provided for the removal of them at the cost of the United States. General Cass afterwards made a treaty with the Creek Indians for the cession of all of their lands east of the Mississippi, with a stipulation that they would be removed to the west of it at the expense of the United States.

In the year 1834, Congress passed an act designating territory in the United States to which the Indians might be removed, declaring that it should always thereafter be deemed the Indian country. Several tribes are now there under the protection of this Government, with the promise that the humane policy of the Government will be illustrated by their civilization. If any one wishes to see that policy about to be further carried out, it will be found in the very interesting report of Mr. Manypenny, the present efficient Commissioner of the Indians affairs, accompanying the message of the President to this Congress.

If then the Congress of the United States has made appropriations of money to remove and colonize Indians and Africans, the Constitutional powers exerted for doing so, apply equally in favor of appropriations of money to aid in removing and colonizing our free people of color whenever Congress shall think it nationally expedient to make them. This must be so, unless the Government's power to colonize, is particular as to persons, and not general. If any one shall say so, to exclude the free man of African origin from the benefit of the powers, he interpolates into the Constitution an exception which is not there, and will exclude himself from that class, which has hitherto guarded that sacred instrument, by giving it a rational and limited interpretation in opposition to those whose tendency has been to give to it legislative ability in cases where the power has not been delegated to the United States by the Constitution, or when powers have been asserted by the Legislation of the United States, which were reserved to the States respectively or the people.

Mr. President:—My object in all that I have said concerning the power of the Federal Government, has been constitutionally to aid this Society in colonizing our free persons of color, and to present the claims of Liberia to the intelligent consideration of our legislators. A few more words at this late hour, and I shall be done.

The Colonization of our free persons

of color is not a local interest. It is national, because they are in every State of this Union in a hopeless condition of inferiority, without any possibility that they can be made partakers of the political and civil institutions of the States, or of those of the United States. They number now more than four hundred and fifty thousand. A larger number than all of the Indians within our limits. Their numbers will increase, from emancipation beyond that of a natural production, though that will not be less than it has been. Such a caste, without civil privileges, implies discontent and hostility. Whether the last shall be so or not, it will be thought to be so, and the restraints upon them, will be multiplied. They have seen, sir, and are here enjoying their best day in the United States. The natural increase of our white population, the additions to it already by emigration from Europe and such as are surely to follow, even in larger numbers than have yet come, will drive them into the most degraded offices of civilized life if not from employment of every kind. The object of the Society is to place them out of the reach of such a result. Its designation is the American Society for colonizing the free people of color of the United States. Its object, as it is expressed in its Constitution, is to colonize them with their consent, in Africa or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient, and to act in co-operation with the general Government and such of the States as may adopt regulations upon the subject. The South and Southwestern States where slavery is a part of their domestic condition, are not more interested in this matter, than the rest of the Union, except as they may give larger numbers to be sent to Africa. The inconveniences and interferences of emancipated colored persons in them, they can control. But their philanthropy makes them wish to avoid the use of their power, and they look to this Society and to the Federal Government to aid them in making that philanthropy efficient.

The condition of the Southern States in

this matter, and in every other concerning them, in any event, is one of strength and not of weakness. Commanding as they do by their products a large portion of the world's industry and its interests, without any cause for apprehending that it will be less and with every reason for believing that it will be larger, they have as strong a bond of union between them as any which unites the same population in any part of the world. Let come what may, they have confidence in their future. They know that their coasts may be pillaged but that their interior cannot be successfully assailed. Abounding in every thing which in ordinary times can be enjoyed and sufficient for any exigency which may happen, they feel that they are secure.

But they do not wish to rely upon such considerations, and they do not indulge them, remembering the old times of their fathers, in every part of this land, and that God strengthened them together, to escape from a common tyranny. Their heart's wish is to enjoy the blessings given to our nation in patriotic fraternity. Prompted too by a holier sentiment, our common christianity and its influences upon their consciences and their practices, they think that a sufficient guaranty that their rule at home, will be regulated accordingly. Unaffected in their sensibilities by either the exaggerations of fiction or the assaults of fanaticism, they have neither resentments to express nor contempt to bestow. They are conservative too for this nation. The excesses of unchristian and revolutionary innovation, have no countenance there. If they cannot prevent them from being felt in other localities, they mean to prevent them from becoming national.

Standing upon the good sense and strong sympathies of the American people, they hope for a long course of national quietude and happiness, confidently trusting whatever may affect our general welfare, that it will be under the guardianship of our National Constitution.

[From the New York Colonization Journal.]

List of Emigrants

Who sailed in barque "Isla de Cuba," from New York, November 10, for Monrovia, Liberia.

It will be seen that, while the company embraced three large families, of ages from the infant of months to the venerable grandmother of over fourscore, the large proportion were in the prime of life.

Augustus Washington, who with his wife and two children emigrate from Hart-

ford, Connecticut, receives from the State Treasury two hundred dollars to defray the expenses of their passage and settlement—thus becoming the first fruits of the liberal purposes of that patriotic State in behalf of Ethiopia.

Mr. Washington was once an under-

graduate of Dartmouth College, New Hampshire, and of good standing as a scholar. For several years he has been a Daguerreotypist, in Hartford, ranking high in his profession, and receiving a large share of patronage in his art. He takes with him material and instruments for his profession, but we trust is destined to fill a higher position in the Republic.

Stephen Ajon takes with him high testimonials of probity and intelligence, and is accompanied by a most interesting family. We hope the new circumstances surrounding him will develop latent energies, and exhibit him a courageous, industrious, and successful citizen. He has for some years sustained a good reputation in Newburg, though kept poor by the claims of a large and dependent

family. We have never heard a whisper to his disadvantage, unless that he was somewhat unstable of purpose; and even in this respect, when one considers the intense efforts made to discourage his family, one is disposed rather to give him the credit of considerable firmness.

The Rev. Mr. Peterson, a methodist preacher, from Rome, goes highly recommended, and we shall look for his return a year hence with great interest.

The Pennsylvania company, while much larger than the others in number, was superior in organization and promise of usefulness. Our intercourse with the leaders, Rev. Messrs. Williams and Deputie, for a week before sailing, left a deep impression of their worth and promise of benefit to Africa.

EMIGRANTS FROM PENNSYLVANIA.

Johnstown.

Name.	Age.
1 Rev. Samuel Williams, - -	40
2 Mrs. Ann Ellen do. - -	39
3 Sebastian do. - -	17
4 Ann Ellen do. - -	5
5 Francis do. - -	4
6 Samuel do. - -	3
7 Mrs. Margareno do. - -	86
8 Mrs. Elizabeth Harris, - -	38
9 Virginia do. - -	16
10 Georgiana do. - -	13
11 Francis do. - -	11
12 Amanda do. - -	8
13 Edmund Brown, - -	29

Hollidaysburg.

14 Charles Deputie, - -	44
15 Mrs. Mary Ann do. - -	37
16 James Henry do. - -	16
17 John do. - -	10
18 Hannah do. - -	9
19 Robert do. - -	6
20 Mary do. - -	4
21 Margaretta do. - -	2
22 William Nesbit, - -	35

Saltsburg.

23 David Kelly, - -	31
24 Mrs. Catharine Kelly - -	26

Blairsville.

25 Thomas Lillason, - -	35
26 Mrs. Ellen do. - -	27
27 Henry J. do. - -	17
28 Elizabeth J. do. - -	8

Greensburg.

29 John H. W. Harris, - -	25
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Uniontown.

Name.	Age.
30 Alfred Truman, - -	34

Huntingdon.

31 Curtis J. Carr, - -	38
32 Joseph Brooks, - -	35

EMIGRANT FROM NEW JERSEY.

33 Christina Gibbons, - -	60
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EMIGRANTS FROM CONNECTICUT.

34 Augustus Washington, - -	32
35 Cordelia A., do. - -	22
36 Alonzo Seward, do. - -	2½
37 Helena Augusta, do. - -	1½

EMIGRANTS FROM NEW YORK.

38 Marshall Allen, Utica, - -	24
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New York City.

39 Rev. D. H. Peterson, - -	60
40 Abram Caldwell, - -	53
41 Darius Jacklin, - -	60
42 Hannah do. - -	60
43 Sylvanus do. - -	19
44 Joseph, - -	13

Newburg.

45 Stephen Ajon, - -	47
46 Jeannet, do. - -	32
47 Adelia, do. - -	17
48 Sarah, do. - -	15
49 Rose, do. - -	12
50 Hannah, do. - -	11
51 Stephen, do. - -	8
52 Maria, do. - -	6
53 Rebecca, do. - -	½

Adults, - -	39
Children, - -	10
Infants, - -	4

Total, - -	53
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Items from the Liberia Herald.

THE fine bark "Banshee," A. J. Wilson master, of Baltimore, anchored in our roadstead on the 3d inst., with 211 immigrants. The "Banshee" sailed from Baltimore and had a passage of 31 days. Of the immigrants by this vessel 23 have been landed here, 140 are destined for Grand Bassa, and 48 for Cape Palmas. We are

informed that in this company of immigrants there are persons of intelligence and worth, who are fully alive to the importance of their position as members of a free government. It is to be hoped that the duties which will devolve on them, in assisting to promote the interests of their adopted country, will stimulate them to

acts of enterprise; that they will exert themselves to increase the agricultural resources of the country, and build for themselves honorable reputation. Our country is rich in all the resources which gives celebrity to a nation, and it only requires a moderate outlay of funds, and a reasonable portion of enterprise and industry to develop them.

We would be glad to hear of monthly arrivals of immigrants who would reclaim our forests from their primitive growth, and make them blossom with productions for exportation. This can and will be done. Already something in this way has been accomplished, and before very long, it is not too much to say, that a great deal more will be done. An industrious and enterprising population is greatly needed; and as soon as the colored people of the United States will flee from the land which gives them but a moiety of protection, and gather under the "Lone Star," it will be, comparatively speaking, but a short time before Liberia will wear a pleasant appearance, and be one of the most desirable homes.—*June 15.*

Our late advices represent the state of affairs in the leeward counties to be healthy and prospering, and as there is nothing to disturb the tranquility which so happily surrounds every settlement in our Republic, the people are true to their interests in prosecuting honorable avocations for the accumulation of an honest competency. In no former period of the history of Liberia has there appeared so much real contentment, and so many energetic minds, as are now clearly perceptible on every hand. It is no longer doubtful as to the practicability of gaining wealth and importance by the cultivation of the rich soil every where to be found throughout Liberia; and it is now fully demonstrated that every year's expenditure on a properly arranged farm will annually yield the proprietor a handsome income. The old song, "that nothing can be done in the way of farming without an outlay of thousands," is rapidly exploding, and we know, and others on examination will also learn the fact, that out of the numerous farms scattered throughout the country, with immense numbers of coffee trees, and acres upon acres of sugar cane, that the proprietors, with but a few exceptions, have not altered their ordinary arrangements, or in any wise curtailed their reasonable expenses.

We do not wish to be misunderstood. When we speak of farms in connexion with Liberia, it is to be understood that

we refer to tracts of ten, twenty, and fifty acres; in a few instances one may find well cultivated farms of fifty to one hundred acres. It is enough for our purpose to know that the agricultural interests of the state are largely on the increase, and that in a few years Coffee will be offered for export as readily as camwood and ivory now are. It only requires a little energy, labor, and a small outlay of money, to make our country one of the most desirable places for a home on the habitable globe.—*July 6.*

It is now pretty well understood that Boyer of Trade Town is earnestly at work to re-gain the favor of the government. He has lately made some disclosures to the authorities of a very important character, and which, by the way, may eventually prove against his interest in one respect. He is however to be narrowly watched, as long since all confidence was lost in him.—*July 6.*

IMMIGRANTS.—We are happy to be able to say that the emigrants by the "Banshee," from Baltimore, who landed here, and at Bassa, are doing well. They have had but slight attacks of the acclimating fever, and it is not supposed that they will suffer much from it.—*July 6.*

GEORGE CAIN of Grand Cape Mount, continues to violate his obligations to the Government. What ought to be done with him? Boombo who is now a prisoner here, declares that Cain led him into the difficulties, for which he is now being punished. Is there no way of convincing Mr. Cain of his allegiance to the Government? We think this a matter deserving great consideration.—*July 6.*

GRANDO. We know not the whereabouts of this chieftain. One thing we are certain of, that his own countrymen have turned against him—and wherever he is, he is living on the hospitality of his neighbors.

This will not last long, and it is not improbable but he will soon be brought to this city and placed in the hands of justice—for which the blood of innocent men, women and children loudly cries and we hope to live to see the day, when it will be meted out to him to the fullest extent.—*July 6.*

THE City Authorities have entered into arrangements with a person, we believe competent for the undertaking to keep the

streets clear of weeds and other noxious growth. We sincerely hope that this matter will be strictly attended to, and thereby cause our city to present a more pleasing aspect. The officers of the town should be made to do their duty, and be responsible for the collection of the taxes. It is but a small amount that is required of each male adult, and it should without the least delay be collected.—*July 20.*

LATE advices from England, 23d June, state the price of Camwood to be £18 to £23 per ton, and the demand regular. The lowest price is for an inferior article, such as is obtained in the Sherbro. There is none such in our market. The camwood now in our city is being bought up for the London market, at \$70 to \$75—specie payments.

Palm oil readily sold at £35 10 to £36 per ton, and the probability was, that there would be an advance on these prices.—Thousands of gallons have been bought up here, within the last fortnight, for the London market at 33-3 cents per gallon, specie payment, indeed the demand for African produce, of almost every description, is very great.

VESSELS WANTED.—A ready market will be found in Liberia for six more vessels, well built, coppered and copper fastened, and drawing a light draft of water. Their burthen should be from 50 to 100 tons.—*July 20.*

RICE, we are informed, can be purchased at Marsh Hill in large quantities. As it is very scarce here, and selling at high prices, would it not be a good speculation to some of our merchants, to send down a vessel and buy up a quantity? It is a matter well worthy of consideration.—*July 20.*

PRINCE GEORGE CAIN, of Grand Cape Mount, has not yet made the first movement to ameliorate the condition of Boombo, who is now here a prisoner for acts committed under his direction. And, if what we hear be true, and we have no reason to doubt it, Cain continues to violate his engagements with the Government.—We trust the day is not far distant, when he will be compelled to demean himself properly. Old King Sand Fish, is loud in his complaints against Cain for his unfaithfulness to his solemn promises.—*July 20.*

It is now pretty generally known to most of our citizens, that the natives residing within our jurisdiction are not inclined

to revive the slave trade, one exception perhaps may be made, and that is Prince Manna, of the Gallenas. He is capable of committing any act, however dishonorable, if there be a possibility of his being a gainer in the end. Manna has often declared that he would never again encourage the slave trade, and we know that in the early part of last year, he did actually engage to supply Don Chrispo with a cargo; but the other chiefs in the Gallenas, strongly opposed him, and he had finally to abandon the idea. Therefore, if at any time, slaves are taken from any place in our jurisdiction, it will be through the baseness of Prince Manna. But the Government is keeping a strict watch on the gentleman.—*July 20.*

It is now many months since our harbor was honored with the presence of an American vessel of war. What has become of them? We are anxiously looking for the arrival of the U. S. ship "Constitution," bearing the broad pendant of Commodore Mayo, the Commander-in-Chief of the U. S. Naval forces on the West Coast of Africa.

ARRIVED on the 15th inst., Rev. Alex. Crummell, A. B. and family, per British Mail Steamer, "Forerunner," from England. We learn that Mr. Crummell comes at the instance of A. B. F. Mission of the Protestant Episcopal Church, under the supervision of Rt. Rev. B. shop Payne; his field of operation will be either in this, or the county of Grand Bassa. Mr. C. no doubt will prove a very efficient ecclesiastical auxiliary in this important field of missionary labor. The Protestant Episcopal Mission has heretofore confined their efforts to the south coast, and this part of Liberia was overlooked, until Rev. E. W. Stokes, in 1850, organized an Episcopal Church in this place. No doubt this is the beginning of better days.—*July 20.*

THE last annual meeting of the American Colonization Society, was very interesting. The attendance from all parts of the Union was much larger than usual. Many of the distinguished Statesmen of that great country, were present, and eloquently advocated the claims of the society. If what we gather from American papers be taken as evidence, the cause of African Colonization has obtained a popularity among the American people, that no other benevolent institution has ever attained; and is it saying too much, when we assert, that the scheme of American Colonization to Africa, is the most prominent and

effective plan for the benefit of the African race, than any we have ever heard brought to the notice of the civilized world. The colored man is brought from the grinding yoke of oppression and transplanted in the land of his fathers. Here he stands "erect, self-poised, and none dare to make him afraid." He is recognized as a man, and if he will exert himself, and try to understand his position, and responsibilities as a free and independent citizen of a free and independent Republic, he may gratify his ambition by obtaining the highest honors in the State if he gains the confidence of his fellow citizens. He is governed by laws, which he assists in making. If he appreciates his condition he is bound to raise himself, and the State which heartily welcomes him. There is no aristocracy in Liberia, but what industry and intelligence recognize, and those who do not possess sufficient pride and patriotism to raise themselves in the scale of intellectual worth, must be contented, even in Liberia, to occupy subordinate positions. The American Colonization Society is a praiseworthy institution—its name is already immortalized.—It has planted on a savage coast, tho' having to surmount innumerable obstacles of the most appalling character, a free and independent State, and which is recognized and received into the family of nations, by England, France, Belgium, Prussia and Brazil, and these governments extend to the Liberian Governments every national courtesy that the most fastidious nation could demand. It is to a country possessing these advantages that we would invite the colored people of the United States, and from every other quarter, to come. It will be to the advantage of themselves, and their children, if they will without delay seek a home in Liberia from the deep degradation which they are now living under. In making these remarks we are influenced by the most kindly feelings for our colored brethren. We have nothing to gain by their coming to Liberia, indeed all the advantages will be on their side. But the fact is, we are grieved to see that our brethren show a want of appreciation of the boon of liberty and equality, and in consequence our race is more and more slandered, and looked upon as subjects, fit only to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water."—*July 20.*

The address of the Hon. Edward Everett, at the annual meeting of the American Colonization Society in January last,

will, we are sure, be read with the liveliest emotions. Liberians ought to feel a pride in reading it, and the colored people in the United States will find in it, matter for much reflection. We do not, however, believe that every one will receive the address in that spirit, which we think is its due, for it is well known, there is no subject, however holy and magnanimous its character, but that many will be found to array themselves in hostility to it. We admire the tone of the address, and it is our opinion that all right-minded persons will think as we do about it.—*July 20.*

THE health of the Immigrants per "Banshee," landed at Fish town (Buchanan) Grand Bassa, we are happy to say, at the latest dates, was under all the circumstances, as good as might reasonably be expected. Most of them are preparing to go into their own houses, and are sanguine of making a competent support. Some dozen or more of the immigrants by this ship, will embrace the first opportunity to move to this County—they are experienced mechanics, and they think their chance of constant employment will be better here, than in Grand Bassa.—*August 3.*

NEW RICE,—It is gratifying to learn, that the prospect of large quantities of rice coming into market is great. Already rice has fallen in price, and from all we can gather the farms in every direction have yielded abundantly. The natives, and our own farmers are busily engaged in gathering in their crops, and in almost every instance, the greatest satisfaction prevails among them.—*August 3.*

OUR city we are happy to say, is presenting somewhat a tidy appearance. The streets are being well cleaned, and it is hoped that the laborers now at work on them, will be kept constantly employed, at the duty, under the direction of the acting commissioner, who is well known for his industrial habits, and a strict devotedness to every duty he undertakes.—*August 3.*

OUR NATIONAL DAY.—The 26th July, the anniversary of the Independence of Liberia, was celebrated in the usual way. Although the day was exceedingly rainy, there was a goodly number of both sexes out. The exercises of the day were performed in the Providence Baptist Church, and that large building was densely crowded. The choir performed their duty well

and elicited from many generous hearts the highest commendation. Mr. Edward W. Blyden, was the orator, and he acquitted himself to the admiration of that vast assemblage. He had made himself perfectly acquainted with his subject and in his happiest style chained the attention of all who were so fortunate as to be within hearing.

Of course there were many of the good things of life prepared for the day. A sumptuous repast was served up at 3 o'clock P. M. at the residence of David More, Esq., under the direction of the city authorities, at which His Excellency the

President, the Vice President and the general officers of Government were present. The time passed off pleasantly, and to the satisfaction of all.

At the same hour at "Ellis's Naval Hotel," another rich table was spread for the accommodation of a large number of persons who enjoyed themselves happily.

At 7 o'clock in the evening, a most magnificent supper was spread in the spacious dwelling of Major Payne, by the young gentlemen of our city, at which nearly all of our young ladies were present, who seemed overjoyed at being in such good and pleasant company.

Receipts of the American Colonization Society,

From the 29th of January to the 26th of February, 1854.

MAINE.

<i>Bath</i> —Bath Col. Society, by F. Clark, Esq., Treasurer.....	134 00
By Capt. George Barker:—	
<i>Calais</i> —Rev. Mr. Keeler, Cong. Church	5 00
<i>South Berwick</i> —Chas. E. Norton, Cong. Ch.....	23 64
<i>Richmond</i> —P. F. Barnard.....	1 00
By Rev. D. Powers:—	
<i>Bath</i> —Wm. M. Rogers, S. A. Houghton, Dea. Levi Houghton, Capt. J. Patten, Jas. F. Patten, Freeman Clark, a friend, each \$5; J. P. Morse, \$2; Capt. J. Merritt, \$1, to constitute Rev. Mr. Whittlesey a life member of the Am. Col. Soc.....	38 00
<i>Augusta</i> —Legacy left the Am. Col. Soc. by the late Isaac Sanford, of Augusta, Me., by John Jewett, Ex'r.....	800 00
	1,001 64

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

By Capt. George Barker:—	
<i>Salmon Falls</i> —P. Lawton.....	5 00
<i>Dover</i> —Wm. Woodman.....	5 00
<i>Portsmouth</i> —Dr. Kittridge, Rev. Charles Burroughs, D. D., Richard Jenness, Dea. John Knowlton, each \$5; Dea. Knight, \$1.....	21 00
<i>Chester</i> —Mrs. Persis Bell, \$5; Rev. L. Armsby, \$3; T. J. Melvin, John White, A. D. Quiggs, each \$2; J. W. Noyes, Wm. Greenough, Mrs. Tenney, Amos Hasselton, Lydia H. Tenney, Mrs. C. Emerson, Mrs. Aiken, each \$1; T.	

<i>Hale</i> , Isaac Lane, each 50 cents.	22 00
<i>Manchester</i> —David Hill, \$3; David J. Clark, \$1.....	4 00
<i>Francestown</i> —Wm. Bixby, Esq., \$10; Sarah Cummings, Dr. Thomas Eaton, Col. Daniel Fuller, each \$5; Mark Morse, Esq., \$4; Thomas B. Bradford, S. D. Downes, Moses W. Eaton, Israel Batchelder, each \$1.....	33 00
<i>Amherst</i> —S. B. Melendy, \$1; John Follansbee, \$3; M. Spalding, M. D., \$5.....	9 00
<i>Milford</i> —Rev. H. Moore.....	1 00
<i>Hollis</i> —Miss Mary Farley, second payment on life membership, \$10; Benj. Whiting, \$4; Rev. Leonard Jewett, \$3.	17 00
<i>Nashua</i> —Franklin Monroe, \$5; Josephus Baldwin, \$2.....	7 00
<i>Pelham</i> —General S. Richardson, \$3; Mrs. H. H. Richardson, \$3,50.....	6 50
By Rev. D. Powers:—	
<i>Dover</i> —Daniel N. Christy, \$5; Moses Paul, \$3; Mrs. Perry, \$5; Silas Moody, Sarah Green, a friend, each \$1.....	16 00
<i>Nashua</i> —Judge Parker, Deacon Hartshorn, each \$5; Deacon Adams, \$2,50; Dea. Kimball, \$2; Mrs. H. T. Gilman, Thos. Toleman, each \$1; collection in Rev. E. E. Adams's Society, by the hand of Dr. Kitteridge, \$41.....	57 50
<i>Portsmouth</i> —Rev. H. D. Moore, \$5; Charles Robinson, \$2; Washington Williams, Col. Sterns, each \$5; C. Myers, H. H. Ladd, John Knowlton,	

each \$2; a friend, \$4; R. Randall, J. K. Pickering, C. W. Brewster, each \$1; J. M. Mathers, 50 cents	30 50
<i>New Market</i> —Collection in Rev. E. C. Cogswell's Society, to constitute him a life member of the Am. Col. Soc.	30 00
<i>Henniker</i> —Abel Connor, \$60, to constitute Dr. Nathan Sanborn and Mrs. Mary C. Folsom, life members of the Am. Col. Soc.; Horace Childs, \$30, to constitute himself a life member Am. Col. Soc.; Washington Barry, \$1.	91 00
	355 50

VERMONT.

Collections for the Vermont Col. Society from the 1st of January to the 10th of February, 1854, by Rev. Wm. Mitchell, viz :	
<i>Ira</i> —Bap. Ch., \$5; L. Fish, \$1; R. Ross, W. Mann, Amos Tower, each 50 cents.	7 50
<i>Jericho Centre</i> —Ezra Elliott, \$2; Mrs. J. Hamilton, C. H. Lyman, L. Blackman, Albert Lee, Miss L. Monroe, Augustus Lee, L. L. Lane, R. J. W. Pierce, each \$1; Daniel Lee, 75 cts.; Eben Lee, E. H. Lane, C. Lane, H. Stone, each 50 cents; Mrs. E. Lane; John Lee, each 25 cents; W. W. Lyman, 15 cents; J. Baly, 10 cents; J. Hull, 3 cents.	13 53
<i>Jericho</i> —T. Galusha, George B. Oakes, each \$1.	2 00
<i>Milton</i> —Rev. J. Parmele, \$1; N. Fairchild, B. Fairchild, E. A. Witters, George Ashley, each 50 cents; Mrs. T. Hoxie, friend, cash, H. A. Ashley, each 25 cents.	4 00
<i>Swanton</i> —A friend, \$10; Daniel Bullard, Rev. H. J. Sampson, Geo. Barney, C. B. Hurlburt, each \$1.	14 00
<i>St. Albans</i> —Theodore W. Smith, J. Smith, each \$5; Mrs. T. Kingman, E. J. Hicks, each \$3; Mrs. B. Swift, C. B. Swift, each \$2.50; Mrs. B. Stevens & Son, Wm. Bridges, Mrs. E. L. Janes, W. E. Gadcomb, each \$2; J. L. Chandler, Rev. W. Smith, L. L. Butcher,	

R. S. Locke, J. H. Brainerd, G. M. Farrar, Wm. Farrar, Mrs. L. Seymour, C. L. Loomis, each \$1; Mrs. J. Hoyt, B. Fay, each 50 cents.	39 06
	80 03

MASSACHUSETTS.

<i>Lowell</i> —Hapgood Wright, \$1; by Capt. George Barker.	1 09
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RHODE ISLAND.

By Capt. George Barber :—	
<i>Bristol</i> —Mrs. H. Gibson and R. DeWolf, each \$15; to constitute Dr. Nathaniel Miller a life member of the Am. Col. Soc., \$30; Rev. Thomas Shepard, D. D. Cong. Ch., \$1.	31 00
<i>Pawtucket</i> —Rev. C. Blodget, Cong. Ch., \$14.	14 00
<i>Providence</i> —Edward Pearce, \$25; Edward Carrington, \$50; H. N. Slater, \$25 and E. W. Fletcher, \$5—\$30, to constitute John Frank Slater, a life member of the Am. Col. Soc., R. H. Ives, \$25; Lady and daughter, M. B. Ives, each \$20; E. W. Howard, \$15; Miss Julia Bullock, Dr. S. B. Tobey, Calvin Dean, Thomas Harkness, each \$10; Paris Hill, W. J. Cross, Joseph Carpenter, Elizabeth Waterman, Gilbert Congdon, L. P. Childs, John R. Burrows, Josiah Seagrave, Jr., Hon. Elisha Harris, Richard Waterman, Wm. Field, S. G. Arnold, H. A. Rogers, Joseph Rogers, John H. Mason, Zech. Allen, Wm. G. Angel, S. A. Nightingale, Mrs. S. A. Paine, Thos. J. Stead, Miss A. L. Harris, Rufus Waterman, Henry W. Gardner, Wm. W. Hoppin, Mrs. B. Aborn, T. P. Shepard, each \$5; Benjamin White, Frederick Fuller, each \$3; Miss P. Harris, Charles Dyer, Thomas Phillips, each \$2; Orin A. Read, Mrs. J. H. Read, Mrs. H. Brown, Miss Sarah Harvey, each \$1.	371 00

416 00

CONNECTICUT.

By Rev. John Orcutt :—	
<i>New Britain</i> —F. H. North, \$25; Philo Pratt, \$10; in full to constitute himself a life member of	

the Am. Col. Soc., Elnathan Peck, \$5; in part to constitute himself a member of the Am. Col. Soc., John B. Talcott, C. B. Erwin, Mrs. C. N. Rockwell, Prof. E. A. Andrews, each \$5; W. H. Smith, C. M. Lewis, H. Butler, each \$3; Henry Walter, T. S. Hall, Chas. Peck, M. Judd, John Stanley, A. North, H. F. North, each \$2; Abram Peck, T. W. Stanley, A. D. Judd, H. K. Hale, A. Giddings, G. W. Loomis, Julius Parker, O. H. Seymour, each \$1; Wm. W. Giddings, 50 cents..... 91 50

Clinton—Dr. D. H. Hubbard, H. Tainter, each \$5; G. E. Elliott, \$1..... 11 00

Guilford—Joel Tuttle, \$5..... 5 00

107 50

NEW YORK.

Williamsburgh—Rev. Samuel Baker, \$1..... 1 00

MARYLAND.

Annapolis—A. Randall, Esq., \$30; to constitute himself a life member of the Am. Col. Soc. 30 00

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

By Rev. J. N. Danforth :—

Washington City—J. C. R., Esq., \$50; cash \$10; Sena'or Gwinn, \$100; W. A., \$5; G. T. D., \$1; F. B., \$5; C. T. J., \$5; C. & S., \$5; A. J. O. B., \$5; J. N. B., \$5; Com. S., \$5; W. M., \$5; G. W. B., \$1; H. W. B., \$1—\$203, towards constituting President Pierce, a life director of the Am. Col. Soc.; D. C., Esq., \$25; S. H. H., \$5, W. N., \$5; W. B. T., \$5; B. F. P., \$5; C. W., \$5; Z. W. D., \$5; D. C., \$5; H. L., \$1; O. C. W., \$1; W. W. G. \$1; A. S., \$5; M. K., \$2.50; J. S., \$1; T. M., \$2; cash, \$1.50; cash, \$3; collection in M. Ch., South, \$25..... 306 00

Georgetown—Collection in Presb. Church, \$25.25; C. W. Pairon, \$25..... 50 25

356 25

NORTH CAROLINA.

By Rev. Jesse Rankin :—

Yanceyville—Rev. John S. Grasty, \$2..... 2 00

VIRGINIA.

By Rev. J. N. Danforth :—

Alexandria—Lewis Mackenzie, Esq., \$30; to constitute himself a life member of the Am. Col. Soc., A friend to colonization, \$30; cash, \$10; cash, \$5; J. S. Hallowell's Young Ladies School, \$12; J. S. H., \$5; A few members of the M. E. Church, \$10.87..... 102 87

Richmond—Colonization Society of Virginia..... 300 00

402 87

OHIO.

By John C. Stockton, Esq :—

Mansfield—J. Purdy, \$5; B. J. Mercer, \$3; J. H. Cook, \$2; J. P. Drennen, Jesse Williams, David Wise, Jacob Reisinger, Charles H. Cummings, W. W. Granger, Thomas Burr, H. H. Dyer, Z. S. Stocking, Rachael Elliot, A. Conn, H. Endley, P. P. Myers, Labez Cook, E. McCall & Co, H. R. Smith, Samuel Braden, R. Bowland, G. S. Dulin, J. R. Hooker, J. W. Littler, each \$1. 31 00

WISCONSIN.

Baraboo—Meth. Epis. Church, by Rev. Wm. H. Thomson, Pastor..... 11 00

Total Contributions.....1,916 76

FOR REPOSITORY,

MAINE.—*Bath*—John Deering, \$1, to Adri', 1855—*Richmond*—P. F. Barnard, \$2, to July, 1854..... 3 00

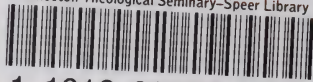
NEW HAMPSHIRE.—Py Captain George Barker :—*Dover*—J. P. Mellen, \$1, to Sept. '54; Dea. E. J. Lane, \$1, to Nov. '55; Capt. Moses Paul \$2, to Nov. '55; John H. Wheeler, \$1, to Nov. 54. *Durham*—Hon. Valentine Smith, \$1; *Chester*—John White, \$2, to Oct. '57; Mr. Orcutt, \$1, to Oct. '54. *Manchester*—Daniel Clarke, \$1 for 1856; Isaac Tompkins, Charles Richardson, each \$1, for 1854, Abraham Brigham, Frederick Smyth, each \$1, to Oct., '54, D. C.

Gould, \$2, to Oct. '55, David Gillis, \$3, to June 1860, Josiah Crosby, M. D., \$1, to Oct. '54, James L. Cheeney, \$5, to Oct. '58, O. W. Bailey, \$1, to Jan. '55, Wm. Patten, \$2, to Oct. '56, David Hill, \$2, to July '54. <i>Francesstown</i> —P. C. Butterfield, \$2, to Dec. '54, Thos. B. Bradford, \$1, to June '55, S. D. Downes, Moses W. Eaton, S. W. Wilcox, Israel Batchelder, P. H. Bixby, R. Bradford, Samuel B. Hodges, each \$1, to Oct. '54, Hon. Wm. Parker, \$1, to Dec. '54, Harvey Copeland, Dea. S. Starret, M. G. Starret, each \$1, for 1854. <i>Hollis</i> —Benjamin Whiting, \$1, for 1854. <i>Nashua</i> —Ziba Gay, \$2, to Oct. 1859, M. W. Merrill, \$1, to June '58, J. A. Balwin, \$1, to Sept. '56, James Hartshorn, \$1, to Sept. 1854. <i>Portsmouth</i> —Col. J. Dimick, \$1 75 to Feb. 1854..	51 75
VERMONT.—By Rev. Wm. Mitchell:— <i>Milton</i> —Joseph Clark, \$1, for 1854— <i>St. Albans</i> —Jasper Curtes, \$1 for 1854.....	2 00
MASSACHUSETTS.— <i>Lowell</i> —J. A. Knowles, \$3, to June '56....	3 00
RHODE ISLAND.—By Capt. Geo. Barker:— <i>Newport</i> —Dea. Hamm, \$1, to Aug. '55, Wm. P. Sheffield, \$1, to January, '55, Wm. A. Clarke, \$1, to Jan. '55, Miss H. Clarke, Charles Devans, each \$2, to January, 1856. <i>Bristol</i> —Hon. Benj. Hall, Mrs. Samuel Bradford, each \$1, to January, '55, Hon. George Pearce, to July, '55, \$2. <i>Providence</i> —Stephen Arnold, Menzi Sweet, Caleb C. Cook, Resolved Waterman, Orin A. Read, Edward A. Green, Thomas Eddy, R. J. Arnold, Benjamin White, Wm. Andrews, Wm. Whitaker, Abner Gay, Jr., Pardon Miller, Charles Dyer, each \$1, to January, 1855, Mrs. H. Brown, \$1, to January, 1854, Mrs. Alice T. Clarke, \$3, to January, 1857.....	29 00
CONNECTICUT.— <i>Fairfield</i> —Mrs. A. G. Jennings, \$1, for 1854. <i>Waterbury</i> —Richard M. Rand, \$1, for 1854.....	2 00
NEW JERSEY.— <i>Princeton</i> —Rev.	
Mr. Blodgett, \$2 50, to July, '56.....	2 50
PENNSYLVANIA.— <i>Lancaster</i> —Miss Catharine Yeates, \$5, to January, 1858. <i>Lower Chanceford</i> —M. Wallace, \$20, to July, 1855.....	25 00
VIRGINIA.— <i>Prince Edward C. H.</i> —Rev. Elisha Ballantine, \$1, for 1854. <i>Richmond</i> —James B. Burrell, \$1, for 1854. <i>Norfolk</i> —John W. Keeling, \$3, to February, '55. <i>Big Lick</i> —Rev. U. Powers, \$1, for 1854.	6 00
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KENTUCKY.— <i>Versailles</i> —Rev. H. H. Kavanaugh, \$1, for 1854. <i>Harford</i> —Obed Bennett, L. A. Carson, Thos. Baird, each \$1, for 1854. <i>Elkton</i> —William Dickerson, \$1, for 1854.....	5 00
TENNESSEE.— <i>Haackinsville</i> —M. McGhee, \$1, for 1854.....	1 00
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TEXAS.— <i>Warren</i> —Rev. J. H. Car, \$1, for 1853, by Rev. C. Kingsbury.....	1 00
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